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"GIRART DE ROUSSILLON"

AND

THE "TRISTAN" POEMS.

E. S. MURRELL, B.A.

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E. S. MURRELL, B.A.

BALES & WILDE, GLUMAN GATE, CHESTERFIELD.

1926.

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Prof. Edward S. Haw
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PREFACE.

Few of the works devoted to *Girart de Roussillon* have fully determined the nature of the legend in its original form. The present book is but an introductory sketch towards filling this gap in the study of medieval French literature. I have also endeavoured to examine certain aspects of the legend in comparison with the poems of *Tristan*, of the defects of which study no one can be more sensible than myself.

My sincerest thanks are due to Mr. L. F. Powell, the librarian of the Taylor Institution, Oxford, for aid and direction in the compilation of the Bibliography of *Girart de Roussillon*; while I can hardly express the gratitude I owe to Doctor E. Vinaver, who has given me encouragement throughout, and assisted me with invaluable advice.

Paris, December 8th, 1926.

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I.

INTRODUCTORY.

"Oral literature" perhaps characterises that of France in the Middle Ages in contrast with that of modern times. Much of French medieval literary output may never have been written; what was written was transmitted largely through being recited at the court of some lord or prince. Literary activity tended to centre round these enlightened circles; and the great provincial courts were the chief instigators of literary changes and literary developments. The gathering of the bulk of literature into a handful of centres as well as the oral transmission of literature fostered actual intercourse between poets and writers themselves. The facility of intercourse partly explains the rule of conventions, the sway of fashion and tradition, in French medieval literature. The classification of literature into groups and types is therefore more possible and more effective with regard to medieval literature than to that of modern ages. The divisions between the medieval French lyric, epic and romance "genres" are more clear-cut than any distinctions of genera that can be made in literatures of modern times. For this reason, French medieval works which combine or contain qualities of two distinct "genres," romance and lyric, or romance and epic, are very rare. Special significance attaches to the combination of features of two "genres" in such works, because this combination is so unusual and unexplained. The most important kind of this "hybrid" literature in medieval France is that comprising features from the two main divisions of French medieval literature, epic and romance, of which a representative is the "chanson de geste" of *Girart de Roussillon.*

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This twelfth-century epic shares with *Huon de Bordeaux* the distinction of including several "romance" features, which present such a remarkable contrast with the usual material of Old French epic literature. In neither of these two poems is the "romance" element happily blended with the epic theme. In *Girart de Roussillon* the "romance" material which furnishes the larger part of the beautiful scenes for which the epic is renowned, possesses special importance and interest. It offers remarkable resemblances to the *Tristan* legend.

In his reconstruction of the romance of Tristan and Iseut, Bédier has passages[1] almost identical with extracts from Paul Meyer's translation of the poem of *Girart de Roussillon*.[2] They occur in the scene where the hermit Ogrin urges Tristan and Iseut to repent of their criminal passion. Unable to move them, the hermit says: "Dieu vous soit en aide; car vous avez perdu ce monde-ci et l'autre"; and warns Tristan of the punishment for treachery; "On doit le faire écarteler par deux chevaux, le brûler sur un bûcher, et là où sa cendre tombe, il ne croît plus d'herbe et le labour reste inutile; les arbres, la verdure y dépérissent". These sentences are found almost word for word in Meyer's translation of *Girart de Roussillon*; such that Bédier seems to have felt himself justified in using *Girart de Roussillon* as a means for his reconstruction of this scene in the *Tristan* legend.[3] He must therefore have been convinced of the close relationship between *Girart de Roussillon* and *Tristan* in this scene; and the strength of his conviction is revealed by the fact that to copy the epic "chanson", he sets aside an extant version of *Tristan*, that of Béroul, which forms in his view, an extremely reliable account of this part of the romance. Based on this conception of a connection between the two legends, this study is an attempt to discover any further relations that may exist between them, and to demonstrate the value of these for clarifying the problems which beset the origins of the legends. It is endeavoured to throw some light on the nature and contents of the legend of *Girart de Roussillon* in its original state,

1. "Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut", renouvelé par J. Bédier; Paris, 1900, pp. 96, 97.
2. Paul Meyer, "Girart de Roussillon, chanson de geste traduite pour la première fois", Paris, 1884, p. 238, §§ 519, 520.
3. See also a footnote in his edition of "Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas", Vol. II., p. 263, note 1 (Paris, 1905) (quoted below, p. 14), and a note to v 1870 of Thomas' "Tristan", in Vol. I. p. 368 (Paris, 1902).

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and to explain by the *Tristan* legend the provenance of some of the " romance " elements, the scenes in the forest and the love drama, in the " chanson de geste ". Of the *Tristan* legend in France this study can only be a preliminary survey of some aspects which the legend of *Girart de Roussillon* may help to illustrate. The epic affords further material for determining the circumstances of the birth of the *Tristan* legend in France, and of its development there; while helping to show the nature and contents of the romance as it originally appeared in French literature, particularly in the life in the Morois, the lovers' parting and Tristan's return to Iseut in disguise. Finally, by revealing a French source for the lovers' sojourn in the forest, the kernel of the *Tristan* story, *Girart de Roussillon* contributes material for determining the parentage of the romance itself.

The legend of *Girart de Roussillon* is represented in six texts, a twelfth-century Latin *Vita* with a thirteenth-century Burgundian translation,[1] a " chanson de geste " of the twelfth century,[2] a " roman " composed between 1330 and 1334,[3] and a history compiled in 1447 by Wauquelin,[4] also preserved in abbreviated forms in Mansel's *La Fleur des Histoires*,[5] and in an anonymous History of Charles Martel.[6] The last four works are unimportant for the original legend, as they derive either from the Latin Life or from the " chanson de geste ".

1. The Latin text, and that of the Burgundian translation have been published, side by side, by P. Meyer, in Romania, VII. (1878), pp. 161—231.
2. Translated by P. Meyer, op. cit.
3. " Le roman en vers du très excellent, puissant et noble homme, Girart de Roussillon ", publié . . . par Mignard, Paris, Dijon, 1858.
4. Edited by L. de Montille, " Chronicques des faiz de feurent Monseigneur Girart de Roussillon ", Paris, 1880.
5. Edited by L. Perrin, " Gerard de Roussillon ", Lyons, 1856.
6. See Meyer, " Girart de Roussillon ", 1884, Introduction, pp. cxcii.—ccxxxiv.

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II.

PARALLELS BETWEEN *GIRART DE ROUSSILLON* AND *TRISTAN*.

The parallelism between this legend and the romance of *Tristan* lies partly in the nature and spirit of the love element, partly in certain events and episodes. It would be idle to pretend that *Girart de Roussillon* is anything resembling a great drama of love. But there is a love element, rather loosely joined to the epic theme, which in its nature is similar to the tragedy of the lovers of Cornwall.

Briefly related,[1] *Girart de Roussillon* opens with the visit of the Pope to the court of Charles Martel to preach a crusade to aid the distressed Emperor of Constantinople. As reward the Emperor has promised the hand of his elder daughter Berte to Charles Martel, and that of his younger daughter Elissent to Girart, one of Charles' greatest vassals. The offer is accepted, and on the defeat of the Emperor's foes Girart goes with an embassy to Constantinople to arrange the double marriage, and messengers are sent back to Charles with news of the result. Charles learns from them that Elissent is the more beautiful of the two daughters, travels post-haste to Benevento, whither Girart and the brides have sailed, and reveals in fiery words his resolution to have Girart's bride. Everyone at his court protests, and the Pope offers the strongest opposition; but Charles' will prevails. The Pope then endeavours by all means to persuade Girart to accept the unfortunate Berte, who sits by, bemoaning her fate, thinking of her far-distant home. But Girart is deaf to all entreaties until he has seen Elissent, his promised bride :—

1. For the story see Paul Meyer's translation, op. cit. A shorter account is to be found in J. Bédier, "Les Légendes épiques" Vol. II., p. 3 seqq, 1908.

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" Girarz trait elisant enunrechei
O sei menet labat de sant romei
E auchir un riu conte de bon lei "
" Cui uolet melz donzele mei ocest rei "
" Se d—s maiut charz saigne eu am plus tei "
" Se magussaz orguel dit ne defrei
Jamais ne uos tangest doioste sei
Er le prendez donzele eu tou autrei
En prendrai ta seror por amor tei ".
(vv. 460—467)[1]

Then, and only then, when he is assured in the presence of witnesses of Elissent's love, will Girart yield her up to the King, and consent to marry her sister for the sake and memory of her love.

The love in these passages has some clearly-marked features which provide a resemblance to the love of Tristan and Iseut. A great, simple, elemental passion, justifying itself by its own standard alone, placed far above the law of social duty, the force of social bonds, and in direct opposition to these; a love which transcends earthly barriers, and preserves alone its everlasting force. Iseut marries Mark, Elissent marries Charles; but the love between Iseut and Tristan, Elissent and Girart, remains. Girart is ever Elissent's protector and defender; she is his lady although wedded to another:—

" Pois carles est tan lieus con le mescret
Semidonne fai tort ne eu neleit
Queuli poisse aiudar de tot son dreit ".
(vv. 527—529).

Clearly and strongly Elissent reasserts that her love is above her marriage duty and the laws of fidelity:—

" Que plus laim ke mon paire ne mō seinor " (v. 585); it is Elissent who warns Girart of Charles' intended treachery:—

" La reine ou apres emandet lon
Girart quere sa grant de traition " (vv. 653—654); ten years of warfare and hatred follow, and Girart is forced to spend twenty-two in obscurity and exile, yet even then Elissent receives him at once when he presents to her the token of their love; she reconciles him with the King, and, when warfare breaks out afresh, works on behalf of Girart until final peace is established. The insistence on love

1. The text of the Oxford (Bodleian) MS. (Can. Misc. 63), edited by Wendelin Förster in " Romanische Studien ", V., 1880, pp. 1—202.

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as an eternal force is scarcely less than in the romance where love outlives a world of privation and suffering, and all the trials that society can impose—the titanic struggle with the force of ever-present worldly duties, ever hostile—and endures beyond the grave; a love whose magic symbol rears over the lovers' tombs a bond that humanity cannot remove.

In both stories the love has the tragic intensity arising from its conflict with other bonds and duties. In both the lovers feel only too strongly how pressing is the force of marriage duty, allegiance, fidelity, and honesty against the power of their love. Girart is indeed absolved by the marriage treaty from his allegiance as a vassal towards Charles, but none the less in him conscience fights love. He knows too well that it is evil to defy the King, to help to plunge the country into disorder and distress, but the force of injured love drives him on. Tristan is driven by love to practise deception and subterfuge against his liege lord and king; and when circumstances necessitate his rescue of Iseut from Mark, the struggle between love and duty is but increased. Eventually the lovers force obedience to law and duty; Mark receives back Iseut, and Tristan suffers banishment and exile. There he marries Iseut of the White Hands, in memory of his love for Iseut of Cornwall, as Girart is accompanied into suffering and exile by the wife whom he has taken in memory of Elissent. In both legends lies the same tragic fatality, none the less present in *Girart de Roussillon* because a reconciliation is effected at the end, and because Girart dies peacefully and happily. Love's force and beauty are heightened by its sombre, bleak fatality; the cause of quarrels and hatred, the origin of trial and pain over which it nevertheless triumphs. The author of *Girart de Roussillon* leaves no doubt as to the origin of the life-struggle of Charles and Girart. Up to Charles' resolution to take Elissent there is not the slightest hint of discord or disaffection in his court; the poem opens with the court at Rheims "au gai printemps, au palais jonché de fleurs",[1] in front of which jousts and celebrations are in progress. To the very moment of Charles' rash decision the atmosphere of peace and goodwill is maintained. In war, Girart fights beside Charles against a common enemy:—

1. P. Meyer, op.cit. (1884), p 1.

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" E carles e girarz e lor compaigné . . .
. . . Lai funt une bataille fiere e esmaigne "
(vv. 118—122);

Girart is chosen to lead the embassy to Constantinople; on the eve of Charles' decision we read how:

" Li reis baiset girart lo fil draugon
Lapostoile nonmais fors don gacon " (vv. 377, 378),

honouring Girart before the Pope. On Charles' seizure of Elissent all is changed, and a few lines after the above there follow:—

" E girarz fu iraz e loin quel rie
Ꝑ pau li cons le roi ne de safie
Se nel tangues lisanz delaclersie " (vv. 399—401),

a rage only calmed by Girart's subsequent recognition that he alone possesses Elissent's love. The poet derives the wars and quarrels between Charles and Girart directly from jealousy arising from the love of Girart and Elissent, placing the outbreak of hatred and warfare immediately after the beautiful verses in which Elissent pledges herself and her love to Girart for ever:—

" Ainsi duret tostens lamor des dous
Sanz nule maluaistat qui ainc i fous
Fors bone uoluntat e sanç rescous
E ꝑ hoc sen fu carles tan enuiious
Tot ꝑ autre auchaison ce li met ious
Anz fu au duc tan fers e tan irous
Ꝑ quan ferent batailles ꝑ plans erbouus "
(vv. 588—594).

It is true that the offensive in the quarrel comes from Charles rather than from Girart; but Girart is far from being any longer a man bent on keeping peace and good-will towards his king; he has had a taste of Charles' bad faith and ill-feeling; and, as the verses 527—529, quoted before,[1] clearly show, he is in no mood to trust Charles further. He is hardly less ready to fight Charles than Charles is to seek any pretext for making war against his enemy. Critics[2] have recognised that Charles is moved to hate Girart not so much by feudal greed for the latter's vast possessions, as by jealousy, a jealousy which burns through ten years of intermittent warfare, and through the twenty-two years of Girart's exile, which is still

1. See p. 5.
2. E.g. A. Stimming, "Über den provenzalischen Girart von Rossillon", p. 81 (Halle, 1888); Leo Jordan, "Girartstudien", in Romanische Forschungen, XIV., pp. 321—338 (1902); J. Bédier, "Les Légendes épiques", tome II., p. 3 seqq, (1908).

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smouldering on Girart's return, and breaks out again immediately after the reconciliation, which in the "chanson de geste", in contrast with the Latin *Vita* is in spirit but half accomplished.

Between *Girart de Roussillon* and the *Tristan* poems there is a resemblance both in spirit and in material. Not only is the love intrigue similar in both narratives, but there are also parallel episodes. The two stories are similar in the symbol of the love described. At the parting of the lovers in both legends, the Queen gives a ring in token of her love, by which she will ever recognise her lover and do his bidding, though years may have elapsed since they met. In *Girart de Roussillon* the parting occurs immediately after the double marriage; and is responsible for one of the finest passages in the poem:—

"Girarz trait la reine soz un aubor
O se meine dous contes e sa oissor
"Que mendirez muillier dampador
Dachest cange quai fait deuos alor
Bien sai que men tenez por sordeor".
"Seiner mais degrant preiz e deualor
Vos mauez fait reine e ma seror
Auez pres amuillier per meie amor
Bertolais e geruais ques riu contor
Vos men siaz ostage e lui artor
E uos ma char seur mat anfesor
E en apres ih'u lo redenptor
Que doiñ p ist anel au duc mamor
Ẽ doins li de mon oscle laurieflor
Que plus laim ke mon paire ne mō seinor
Au sou partir non pout mudar non plor"
(vv. 571—588).

Thirty-two years they are parted; and yet when the exiles long to return Berte advises Girart:—

"Et si podez trobar lenpereriz
A cui uos fustes ia amius pleuiz
Ja non ert tan fel carles sos mariz
Ne uos i quere plai dunt ers gariz"
(vv. 7760—7763).

The advice is taken; Berte and Girart return to Paris disguised as pilgrims; and the poet describes in a passage of extreme beauty how Girart presents himself in disguise to the Queen:—

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" Car le ior es passaç el sers uenguz
Que la nuiz fu meiade lorler chauz
Aiduns fu grant la noise e le tanbuz
De moinges de chanoines de clers menuz
La reine au moster en uait pez nuz
E girarz se leuet lau es uenguz
A un autar de soz uns aruoluz
La la trobet orent a pau de luz.
Ben pro de li se trais non si fein muz,
" Donne por amor des sains quauez quesuz
E per girart qui fun tes druz
Donne te cri marcet quere maiuz ".
La reine li dis " bons om barbuz
Que sabez de girart ques deuenguz ".
" Donne per toz les sainz ke uos preiaz
E per lamor de deu qui aoraz
E per aiquele uirgere dum el fu naz
Si uos girart lo conte is loc ueiaz
Car me diiaz reine queu feriaz ".
La reine respont " bons om barbaz
Mult facez gran pechat queu coniuraz
Donaz i uougre auer trente citaz
P quei lo cons fu uis e engest paz
E tote la onor dun fu ietaz
Dunt sest lo cons de li faiz plus privaz
E bailla li lanel e dist " ueiaz
Queu sui aquel girarz dun uo diiaz ".
E quant ele lo tec coinut lassaz
Onques lais lo deuenrens si fu gardaz
En is loc fu girarz set ueiz baisaz "
(vv. 7814—7844).

The story is similar in the *Tristan* legend. In the version of Thomas,[1] the Cambridge fragment breaks off in the midst of the ring-giving scene:—

" Nequedent cest anel prenez
Por m'amor, amis, le gardés " (vv. 51—52),

while a more complete version is found in the fragment attributed to Béroul.[2] The parting of the lovers takes place after the return from the forest; Iseut has asked Tristan for his hound Husdent, to keep in memory of him; and gives her ring in return:—

1. " Le roman de Tristan par Thomas ", edited by J. Bédier (Société des Anciens Textes français. Tome I., Texte. Paris, 1902.
2. " Le roman de Tristan par Béroul ", edited by E. Muret (Les Classiques français au moyen Age), Paris, 1913.

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" Amis Tristan, j'ai I. anel :
I. jaspe vert a u seel.
Beau sire, por l'amor de moi,
Portez l'anel en vostre doi ;
Et s'il vos vient, sire, a corage
Que me mandez rien par mesage,
Tant vos dirai, ce saciez bien,
Certes, je n'en croiroie rien,
Se cest anel, sire, ne voi ;
Mais, por defense de nul roi,
Se voi l'anel, ne lairai mie,
Ou soit savoir, ou soit folie,
Ne face çou que il dira,
Qui cest anel m'aportera
Por ce qu'il soit a nostre anor :
Jel vos pramet par fine amor " (vv. 2709—2724),

and she reiterates her promise later, on the day of parting (vv. 2794—2804. As in the *Girart* story, a long period of absence intervenes ; and when the hero returns, it is only by showing the ring that he is instantly recognised and welcomed. Unfortunately the fragment of Béroul breaks off before the episode of " Tristan fou ", of which the oldest extant versions are represented by the two poems of *La Folie Tristan*,[1] one in an Oxford MS., probably written between 1170 and 1180, apparently based on the poem of Thomas, the other in a Berne MS., composed about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and, in its references to the earlier episodes of the legend, fairly close to the version of Béroul. In the Berne version, Tristan cannot remain separated from Iseut of Cornwall, and, in desperation, disguises himself as a fool in the hope of obtaining access to the Queen without being discovered. Iseut, however, cannot believe that he is Tristan ; although he tells her all the secrets of their past life, she remains unconvinced. As in the home-coming of Odysseus, the dog recognises him, but the Queen will not. Tristan turns to the dog Husdent, saying :—

" Molt m'as montré plus bel samblant
Que celi cui j'amoie tant ;
Ele cuide que je me faigne ;
Ele verra la destre ensaigne
Q'ele me dona en baisant
Qant departimes en plorant,
Cest enelet petit d'or fin (vv. 526—533).

* * * *

1. " Les deux poèmes de la Folie Tristan ", edited by J. Bédier (Société des Anciens Textes français, Paris, 1907.

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Iseut conut bien l'anelet
Et vit la joie del brechet
Que il fait, a poi ne s'anrage,
Or s'aperçoit en son corage
C'est Tristans a cui el parole" (vv. 540—544).

Nothing is more striking than the return in disguise and the immediate recognition by the ring in both stories, when so long a period of absence has elapsed between the promise and its fulfilment.

The other great parallel feature between *Girart de Roussillon* and the *Tristan* legend is perhaps yet more striking. It is the account of the forest life, and the scenes where the hermit attempts to urge the lovers to repentance. The resemblance here is the more significant, as the forest life is one of the principal and central episodes of the *Tristan* legend, dear above all others to narrators of the romance. "Il y a deux scènes entre toutes qui tentent nécessairement chaque conteur de Tristan: la scène du Philtre, la Vie dans la forêt".[1] Yet here, in the wild forest life of the lovers, a feature considered so foreign to medieval French romantic material, the "chanson de geste" of *Girart de Roussillon* resembles the *Tristan* legend. Girart is defeated by Charles in war; he is stripped of his possessions; and he and Berte flee to the forest of Ardenne, tracked like wild beasts:—

"Girarz es erdene o lo seren
Non est li cause el mont dō age ben".
(vv. 7346—7347).

In the "*Tristan*" legend the flight to the forest is an escape from death, but the position is the same; in both stories the lovers are banished fugitives; both Girart and Tristan have a price upon their heads if they venture into the world. They are outcasts; "Nous avons perdu le monde et le monde nous", Iseut says to Tristan.[2] Wandering on from place to place, ever suffering toil and pain, yet ever experiencing

"The tender for another's pain
Th' unfeeling for one's own";

so the years in the forest drag on. Girart traverses Ardenne through privation and trouble:—

1. J. Bédier, "Le roman de Tristan par Thomas". op.cit. Tome I., p. 234, note 1.
2. "Le roman en prose de Tristan, analyse critique d' après les manuscrits de Paris" par E. Löseth, Paris, 1891, p. 43.

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" Entrat en unes uies maluas senders
E trobet molt maus pas e enconbrers
De runces e despines e daiglenters
Deualet en uns uaus pguns e ners "
(vv. 7559—7562),

he would like to forget, but he cannot:—

" Ere sen uait girarz egal solel
P un esteit sender laz un caumel
E trober une font de soz un tel
E cocha sen lunbrer per lo solel
E uol sei condurmir quil a sumel
Mais non cuidaz del conte gaire i durmel
Abanz plore des uelz tirel cabel "
(vv. 7571—7577),

yet in spite of all he can reply to the hermit, when asked to describe his history, and to account for his presence in the forest in poverty and distress,

" Diste donne me pese qui mare fon " (v. 7431),

it is for her that he suffers. So it is with Tristan in the bleak, grim verses of Béroul:—

" Seignors, mout fu el bois Tristans
Mout i out paines et ahans
En. I. leu n'ose remanoir
Dont lieve au main ne gist au soir "
(vv. 1637—1640).

Soon privation and suffering tell their tale:—

" Mout sont el bois del pain destroit
De char vivent, el ne menguent,
Que puent il, se color muent?
Lor dras ronpent, rains les decirent;
Longuement par Morrois fuirent,
Chascuns d'eus soffre paine elgal
Qar l'un por l'autre resent mal " (vv. 1644—1650).

The same sublime self-sacrifice, the same devotion to each other as in *Girart de Roussillon.* The privation is again described by Béroul in words offering a still closer resemblance to the epic " chanson ":—

" Aspre vie meinent et dure " (v. 1364).

The significance is the greater, as the resemblance is not to the " chanson de geste ", but to the far older Latin Life. The chronicler, describing Girart's life in exile, says: " Septem etenim annis, quo nimirum numero solet perfectio designari, *vitam pauperam et austeram incognitus duxit,* humillime ac devotissime conversans "

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(§ 12), the central phrase of which runs in the Burgundian translation as "*mas mena vie povre et aspre*". What are these but the very words used later by Béroul?

So too, the results of the life are the same in both legends, and there is even a resemblance in the return. Both Girart and Berte become worn out by suffering:—

"Girarz se regardet e iac enuers
E non a mais les os lo cuir eus ners"
(vv. 7642—7645).

and again:—

Lo cons non a uertut ni car ni sanc
* * * *
La contesse lo pres per me lo flanc
Jle sun feiule cause echaunc anc"
(vv. 7643—7645)

The catalogue of their miseries would be too long; the poet feels he cannot describe them:—

"Qui uos aconterie tanz enconbrers
E la fans e les ses e destorbers" (vv. 7674-5).

The effect of the bitter life is still more beautifully portrayed in Béroul, where the King, who has discovered the lovers sleeping, takes the ring from Iseut's finger, and we are made to realise how her body is wasted by toil:—

"L'anel du doi defors parut:
Souef le traist, qu'il ne se mut.
Primes i entra il enviz:
Or avoit tant les doiz greliz
Qu'il s'en issi sanz force fere" (vv. 2043—2047).

So too, it is after a long period, by the falling of a magic charm, that suddenly the force of social duty returns present to their minds, and they agree to return. Tristan suddenly recollects his past life:—

"Oublié ai chevalerie
A seure cort ne baronie" (vv. 2165, 2166),

he urges again:—

"Or deuse estre a cort a roi
Et cent danzeaus avoques moi"
(vv. 2173, 2174).

The remembrance of his old days, the desire to return, is just as sudden in Girart. However, the reason alleged in the poem is that Girart and Berte witness a tourney, which reminds them of their former days; but it would

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be idle to pretend that, in the years of life with poor people in various regions which they experience, this would be the first tourney they would have seen. It is clearly a mere excuse; the sudden change in their outlook comes about as if a mist around them lifted to reveal their past life, which it had hitherto obscured; as the sudden abatement of the love potion liberates, in the lovers in the Morois, a longing to return to social life, the force of which during their stay in the forest they had never felt.

The similarity of the hermit scenes in both stories was noted by Bédier.[1] Writing of these scenes in the *Tristan* legend, he says:— "Il y a dans le Roman de Girart de Roussillon (trad. P. Meyer, § 235 seqq), un ermite qui ressemble fort à Ogrin. Si l'on considère que la scène où la femme de Girart pleure à ses pieds, comme Iseut aux pieds d'Ogrin, peut être ancienne, et remonter à une chanson de la fin du XIe siècle, cet ermite pourrait être le prototype d'Ogrin". Waiving for the time being the question propounded in Bédier's last sentence, the striking resemblance in the episode must nevertheless be noted in greater detail. Girart and Berte wander through the forest, until they are directed to the hermit's cell. Thither they come, the count still full of pride, wrath, and "démesure", still a fierce, feudal rival of Charles. They find the old hermit scantily clad, praying before his cell. As in the *Tristan* story, he shelters them for the night, and endeavours to preach to them repentance. Girart tells the hermit his story, declaring his hatred and defiance of Charles; and the hermit reproves him:—

"Granz pechaz dis lermites ti desenance" (v. 7462),
"Pechaz ço dist lermites te fait parlar" (v. 7474);

a third time he urges the same reproof:—

"Pecaz e enemis ta decobut" (v. 7488);

but all preaching is in vain, and the hermit gives them up for lost:—

"Ne uos sai conseiller d—s uos aiut
Car icest siecle e lautre aues pdut"
(vv. 7416—7417).

In *Tristan* the hermit gives the hero similar advice, urging him to abandon his fatal love, and obey his duty to his king:—

1. "Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas, op. cit., Tome II., p. 263, note 1 (Paris, 1905).

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" Ogrins li dit mout bonement:
Par foi! Tristan, qui se repent
Par foi et par confession
Deu du pechié li fait pardon " (vv. 1377—1380),[1]
he reiterates the folly and evil of sin:—
" Ogrins li dist: Et quel confort
Puet on doner a home mort?
Assez est mort qui longuement
Gist en pechié, s'il ne repent.
Doner ne puet nus penitance
A pecheors sanz repentance.
L'ermite Ogrins mout les sarmone
Du repentir consel lor done
Li hermites sovent lor dit
Les profecies de l'escrit,
Et mout lor amentoit sovent
L'ermite le Dé jugement " (vv. 1387—1398).
His persuasion also fails; he washes his hands of their sin:—
" Li hermites tost li respont,
Di va! cil Dex qui fist le mont
Il vos donst voire repentance! " (vv. 1417—1419),
and in both stories while the hermit is preaching, the woman, more acutely conscious of the sin of their life, and of their inability to overcome it, weeps bitterly at his feet. Béroul runs:—
" Iseut au pié l'ermite plore,
Mainte color mue en poi d'ore,
Mout li crie merci sovent " (vv. 1409—1411),
and the *Girart* " chanson ":
" Quan la donne ot parlar lo saint chanut
Ele li chai au pet baisat li nut
Aiqui plorat assaz anz que remut "
(vv. 7491—7493);
both of them beautiful, touching pictures.[2]

1. " Le roman de Tristan par Béroul ", op. cit.
2. There is, however, a difference in the result of the hermit's preaching. In " Girart de Roussillon ", Girart is moved by the entreaties of Berte, added to those of the hermit; and consents to abandon his vengeance on Charles. In " Tristan," the lovers cannot give up their love, and withdraw to the forest. Three years after, when the potion has abated, they return to Ogrin, prepared to heed his advice, having agreed to return to their social duty.

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III.

THE ORIGINAL *GIRART* POEM.

(1) The Existence of an Original Poem on Girart (G1).

In the parallel features already shown, use has been made of the "chanson de geste" of *Girart de Roussillon,* probably written in the latter half of the twelfth century, and represented for us by four MSS.[1] There is, however, little doubt that this is not the oldest "chanson" on the legend. This has been recognised by all critics since P. Meyer, most of whom[2] have accepted the majority of his reasons, and have believed in the existence of an original poem prior to the extant "chanson de geste" and to the Latin *Vita.*[3] Nevertheless it may be necessary briefly to state the principal reasons for this assumption.

It has already been mentioned that the legend is preserved for us by a Latin Life,[4] which, it was stated, was probably written at the beginning of the twelfth century.[5] P. Meyer first pointed out[6] that the extant "chanson de geste",[7] being written in rhymed "tirades", could not have been written before the middle of the twelfth century, a conclusion generally accepted. The question of the date of G2 is bound up with the problem of the locality and circumstances of its composition; so

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1. These are as follows:— (1) Oxford, Bodleian. Can. Misc. 63. A MS. written about the middle of the thirteenth century, containing 10,002 lines. Originally published by C. A. F. Mahn, in "Gedichte der Troubadours" (1856). A much better and a later publication is that of W. Förster, in "Romanische Studien", V., pp. 1—202 (1880). (2) London, British Museum, Harl, 4334. A C XIII. fragment of about 3,500 verses. Incorrectly published by F. Michel, Paris, 1856: then much more correctly by Stürzinger in "Romanische Studien", V., pp. 203—282 (1880). (3) A C XIII. fragment of 330 verses at Passy. (4) Paris, Bibl. Nat. fr. 2180. A C XIII. MS. of 9,000 verses. Published by F. Michel (Paris, 1856); and by C. Hofmann in Mahn's "Werke der Troubadours" (Berlin, 1857).
2. A. Stimming, op. cit.; L. Jordan, op. cit.; J. Bédier, "Les Légendes épiques", II.
3. The original poem will be denoted henceforth by G1.
4. Denoted henceforth by L.
5. See p. 3.
6. Meyer, op. cit., Introduction, p. 1.
7. Denoted henceforth by G2.

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that it will be necessary first to determine these. Bédier[1] has shown that the legend of *Girart de Roussillon* was originally undoubtedly Burgundian, developing at the monastery of Vézelay or that of Pothières. Mahn[2] first pointed out that an examination of the language of G2 revealed that it must have been written in quite a different locality, as the epic contained a strange amalgamation of the forms of the Old French and of the Provençal tongues. He noted also a considerable number of references to *Girart de Roussillon* among the Provençal troubadour poets: in Guiraut de Cabreira, for instance, in Guiraut de Calançon, in Piere Cardinal. He concluded therefore that the extant poem of *Girart* was probably written in a region where the Langue d'oc met the Langue d'oïl; and added, largely at a venture it appears, probably in Vienne or north of it. P. Meyer's study of the language of G2[3] showed that the poem did not mingle Langued'oc and Langued'oïl forms to obtain a hybrid form; but that sometimes the Langued'oc form was used, sometimes the other. The unlikelihood of there being two authors of G2, and of there being a language in which the differences of forms in G2 existed, made the inclusion by the writer of the forms of two languages the only acceptable explanation. All the forms in G2 are regular, in Provençal or in Langued'oïl; the combination of them in a single work alone is irregular: and this must have been the conscious work of the author. He apparently used his own dialect, but often drew forms from another for the sake of ease or rhyme. As the bulk of the forms in G2 are Langued'oc forms, it is probable that the author belonged to a Langued'oc country, but near to where the Langued'oc is lost in the Langued'oïl. The latitude of the place of composition of G2 is thus determined fairly accurately; but the only evidence for the longitude is that the language of G2 bears no trace of the Franco-Provençal dialects which are found from Lyons eastward. From the language study, Meyer concluded that the poem was composed about the level or a little north of Lyons, but west of it. A more precise indication, and one bearing out Mahn's theory, Meyer found from another source. He

1. "Les Légendes épiques" tome II.
2. C. A. F. Mahn. "Über die epische Poesie der Provenzalen. Introduction to Hofmann's edition of "Girartz de Rossilho, nach der Pariser Handschrift"; in Mahn's "Werke der Troubadours" 2nd ed., Berlin, 1874.
3. Meyer, op.cit., Introduction, pp. CLXXX.—CXCII.

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writes:[1] " En terminant cette dissertation, . . j'ajouterai qu'un indice tiré d'un tout autre ordre d'idées me porterait à placer la patrie du poète vers le sud du Poitou. C'est le récit de la bataille livrée a Civaux sur les bords de la Vienne (§§ 283 et suiv.), où il ne manque pas d'indications topographiques qui semblent déceler un interêt particulier pour le pays situé entre Poitiers et Bordeaux (par exemple la mention de Charroux, § 402).[2] Tandis que les noms de villes appartenant à la Bourgogne ne prouvent rien pour la patrie du renouveleur, puisque ces noms étaient fournis par l'ancien poème, l'introduction d'un épisode qui se passe en Poitou peut être une sorte de marque d'origine ". That P. Meyer was on the right track in following Mahn is now made probable by considerable evidence. Chabaneau, who writes with authority on the subject, tends to place the composition of G2 in this region. " Girart de Roussillon; chanson de geste, du douxième siècle, composée dans la partie la plus septentrionale des pays de langue d'oc, peut-être dans la Marche limousine ".[3] There are three testimonies therefore to this region as the locality of G2; while the whole evidence has been substantiated by Anglade,[4] who has shown that there was in Limousin a literary court closely allied to the great literary court of Poitou: and in both of these, from the beginning of the twelfth century, both Langued'oc and Langued'oïl were spoken and written. William VII., count of Poitiers, known as the first troubadour, Jaufre Rudel, Marcabrun, Cercamon, were all born in a Langued'oïl country, and probably spoke a Langued'oïl tongue; but all wrote in Langued'oc. The principal features of the language as used by the " first troubadour " are those belonging to the neighbouring Limousin region, where, according to Anglade, the Langued'oc faded off into the Langued'oïl, and both were used side by side, as they are used in the poem of *Girart de Roussillon*. The literary court of Ebles II., Count of Ventadour, in the territory of Limousin, flourished from the beginning of the twelfth century, and enjoyed intimate intercourse and connection

1. Op.cit., Introduction, p. CXCII.
2. Civaux, on the river Vienne, is mentioned four times in the " chanson " (§§ 384, 390, 435, 436, in P. Meyer's translation).
3. In " Histoire Générale de Languedoc ", per Claude Devic et Jean Vaissete Tome X, p. 394 (Toulouse, 1885).
4. J. Anglade, " Les Troubadours " (1908); and " La Littérature méridionale au moyen âge " (Paris, 1921).

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with the neighbouring court of Poitou. In fact, the troubadour Bernart de Ventadour, who sung the praises of Eleanor of Poitou, daughter of the " first troubadour ", had been educated by Ebles II. at the Limousin court. In considering *Girart de Roussillon,* Limousin is indeed far from Vézelay; but there was a strong link between the two regions. Bédier has shown that the great importance of Vézelay in the Middle Ages (testified by many authors, and by such events as the preaching of Louis VII.'s crusade there in 1146), was due to the fact that it was the cross-roads of two great pilgrim routes.[1] The one led from Paris and all North-West France to the Rhône valley, and thence to Rome and the East; the other led from Flanders and North-East France to South-West France, and the notable Spanish shrines, such as St. Jaques of Compostella. The region of Limousin lay on the second of these great routes; and there is therefore every reason to assume a constant, intimate intercourse between Vézelay and the Poitou and Limousin courts. Monaci[2] has recently supported this view, holding that G2 was composed for the Dukes of Aquitaine, who, throughout this period, had considerable claims on Burgundy, thereby forming an additional connection betwen the region of Poitou and Limousin and the home of the *Girart de Roussillon* legend. In the face of this evidence it seems reasonable to place Limousin as the region of composition of G2.

Concerning the date of G2, P. Meyer's statement that it could not have been written before the middle of the twelfth century has not received serious criticism. Hofmann[3] had previously tried to determine it by the allusion to the " aurieflor " (v. 586—ed. Förster), which, he declared, was probably the " Golden Rose " bestowed as a favour on Princes by Popes. But since this custom dates back to Leo X. (1048—1055), it is too old to be of any value in determining the date either of G1 or of G2. P. Meyer[4] used another method for indicating the date, the value of which as determining the date and circumstances of composition of Old French epics has been shown by Bédier.[5] He emphasised the necessity of

1. " Les Légendes épiques ", tome II.
2. E. Monaci. " Un quisito sul ' Girart de Rossilho ' " (Archivum Romanicum, I., 4, pp. 500 and 501, 1917).
3. C. Hofmann. " Zur Erklärung und Chronologie des ' Girart de Rossilho ' " (Romanische Forschungen, I., p. 137, 1883).
4. Meyer, op.cit., Introduction, pp. XLIV.—XLVI.
5. " Les Légendes épiques ", tome IV.

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treating the "chansons de geste" as products of the twelfth century; and of examining them in their relations with all the imaginative, social, moral, religious and political ideas of the epoch which produced them. This was the basis of P. Meyer's method. He saw in *Girart de Roussillon* in the description of Constantinople and of the Emperor a personal note rare in Old French epics:

"Lamperaire ẽ dious chenus ferranz
Einc non uis tanbel uiel non uerrai tanz
E a sen e largeze e gen samblanz" (vv. 291—293).

The painting of Constantinople is no less accurate; the author notes the correct term "droghemanz" (v. 95) for the Emperor's bodyguard; he mentions with wonder his magicians in verse 213, and again later:—

"E mostret de taus ious per nigromanz
Dunt li plus saiues fu merrauilanz"
(vv. 295—296),

he mentions the monastery of St. Sophia in verse 203, and describes it later with rapture:—

"E ai ueu moster sainte susie
Eu ne quit quanc taus fust ne iamais sie"
(vv. 9701, 9702),

he mentions the relics preserved therein (vv. 265—268). He is no less familiar with the route to Constantinople; as he describes the journey of the embassy in detail:—

"Debrandiz aduraz passent asnaus
E cil . . . .
. . . . chevaugent tant puiz e esgaus
Trobent costantinoble sunt auportaus"
(vv. 134—137).

P. Meyer made the natural conclusion that this familiarity could only have arisen from a visit to the Orient undertaken by the author doubtless during a crusade. But the relations between France and Constantinople were so frequent during the twelfth century that little conclusion can apparently be drawn from this as to the date. Meyer, however, found a "terminus ad quem" in the year 1204. From that year, scenes of unparalleled violence and crime occurred daily in Constantinople; and for several years her rulers were steeped in depravity and bloodshed. Meyer therefore held that the last Emperor in point of date who could inspire a visitor with the respect and admiration revealed in the passages quoted was Alexis II., who died in 1183. His conclusion was that the author of G2 visited the Orient about this date;

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and on his return G2 would be written. The date would therefore be in the last quarter of the twelfth century.

Stimming[1] had little further to say, seeing no reason to depart from P. Meyer's date; while Bédier was inclined to place it earlier: he puts 1150—1180 as the date, though without stating his reasons.[2] The first piece of evidence to determine the date more precisely was furnished in 1919 by Lot.[3] He quotes a passage from P. Meyer's translation (§ 593), in which, on Girart demanding a spear, " Droon le lui présente: c'était l'épieu qu'avait porté Arthur de Cornouailles qui jadis fit une bataille en Bourgogne ". P. Meyer had confessed ignorance as to what tradition this referred; but Lot showed that the reference was not to a tradition but to an allusion in Wace's *Brut,* written in 1155. The *Brut* runs :—

" Artur de jornee en jornee
A Normandie trespassee.
Trespassa s'en tot parmi France
Atot son ost, sans demorance,
Que il menoit en sa besoigne
Et en vint tantost en Borgoigne "
(edited Le Roux de Lincy, 1838, t II., p. 160 :

also, on p. 134 of the same edition :—

" A l'empereur ont[4] loé
Et en consel li ont rové
Que tost son empire mandast,
Mont Giu et Borgogne passast,
Al roi Artur se combatist ".

Lot therefore concluded that the *Girart* poem was, at the earliest, at the end of this year; and could safely be placed between 1155 and 1160. At a date much later than this, the tradition, only so slightly recorded by Wace, would have been forgotten; at any rate, it would have been too remote to have been worth an allusion in G2.

Lot's evidence is valuable; but not in itself decisive. It contradicts P. Meyer's conclusion, drawn from an examination of historical events as influencing the writing of the poem. Bédier's emphasis on the importance of studying the historical causes which might

1. Op. cit. p. 388.
2. " Les Légendes épiques ", II., p. 3.
3. F. Lot. " Sur la date de Girart de Roussillon " (Annales du Midi 1919, pp. 74—76).
4. I.e., the Romans.

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contribute to the production of Old French literature, tends to enhance the value of Meyer's study. But Meyer's theory does not reconcile the historical evidence about Alexis II. and Constantinople with the description of them in the legend. Alexis II. was born in 1167; he lived throughout amid civil wars and bloodshed. The state was ruled by his dissolute mother and her favourite. Later Andronic, a nephew of the late emperor Manuel Comnene, overthrew them; Alexis' mother and her favourite were slaughtered, and Andronic ruled in their place. Alexis was indeed named Emperor from 1181 to 1183; but he never enjoyed even the shadow of any power, and died in 1183 at the age of sixteen. It seems impossible that this boy can have been the emperor described in G2 as a fine and grand old man, of magnificent glory.

Nevertheless P. Meyer's theory seems in itself likely. There must have been some cause to explain why G2 was written. In 1306 the author of the "Roman" of Girart in Alexandrine verse usually followed the Latin Life where there was any difference between the Life and G2; and stated clearly that L was regularly read. Some further cause than the popularity of the legend is therefore necessary to explain the existence of G2. It seems that accepting Lot's evidence that G2 comes soon after Wace, 1155—1160, reasons can be found for its production.

The notable feature in the story is the age-long warfare between Charles and Girart, in which France is divided into two hostile camps. Girart arrays practically the whole of the South and West of France in desperate combat against the royal kingdom, which is hardly as extensive as the domains of the rival vassal. Further, if an attempt be made to determine what is the most striking feature in G2 which cannot be found in the Latin Life, it will almost certainly be conceded that this feature is the extremely detailed and picturesque description of the Orient and Constantinople: the inclusion of that city as the setting for the Introductory scenes of the poem; and the author's manifest interest and zeal for it. This is combined with the allocation of an extremely important role to the Pope, absolutely unmentioned in L. In G2 he is the leader of many activities, the supreme judge, the arbitrator in many negotiations.

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An historical foundation for these three features can be found in the decades preceding the date of G2, as determined by Lot. In 1144 Europe was roused to the danger of the Christian States in the East by the strong attack on them by the Atabek of Mosul. To save the States the Pope charged St. Bernard to preach a crusade. His activities began in France; and the greatest assembly was gathered at Vézelay in Burgundy, Easter 1146. Amid scenes of extraordinary enthusiasm the crusade was preached, and responded to with ardour. King Louis VII. of France, and his gay young wife, Eleanor of Poitou, were both present amid the splendid throng. Vézelay has been shown by Bédier[1] to be the home of the *Girart de Roussillon* legend. If any doubt existed on this point, it would be swept away by the account of a monk, Odon of Cluny, a contemporary of St. Bernard, describing the far-famed gathering at Vézelay. In the preface to his work, dedicated expressly to Louis VII. on setting out for the East, Odon de Diogilo (Odon of Cluny) writes:— "Ut ut sit, ad eam expeditionem, crucis ex more assumendae dicta est Paschatis proximi dies, quae fuit Martii mensis prima et tricensima, locus Vezeliacum castrum, beatae Mariae Magdalenae olim reliquiis, *et Gerardi comitis Berthaeque ejus conjugis liberalitate inclytum,* ubi regis exemplo, et S. Bernardi Clarevallensis abbatis praedicatione accensus populus ingens, ei se peregrinationi in annum proximum devovit" (§ 2).[2] The meeting at Vézelay was an unparalleled success, and soon an expedition was able to set forth. The French party made its way to Constantinople, and stayed there for a while under the protection of the Emperor Manuel, who died in 1180. The historical facts about him will show that he was far more likely to inspire a visitor with admiration and enthusiasm than the young Alexis II., who never really ruled. Manuel's long and enterprising reign was one of the most interesting in Byzantine history. He was a man of brilliant ideas of conquest and empire; he maintained prodigious pomp and luxury at his court; and under him Constantinople was one of the most important centres of European politics. He had received a solid education, and had much political skill; he had attained considerable erudition in the realm of theology. He was of an energetic,

1. Les Légendes épiques", tome II.
2. J. P. Migne. "Bibliotheca Patrum Latina". Tome CLXXXV., column 1202.

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ardent, and passionate nature; with his magnificent bravery, bordering on rashness, he combined the most brilliant qualities of a medieval sovereign, and was comparable[1] to the most valiant among Western contemporary "chevaliers". Here was the very man to appeal to the picturesque imagination of a "jongleur" on crusade; the very man whom a writer would be inspired to introduce into his work. Under him Constantinople was just such a city of wonders and magic, as the author of G2 relates; and by this historical basis his account of the beautiful relics, the marvels, the splendid wonders that the Emperor shows the embassy is readily explained. Manuel had to combat much latent hostility towards the Byzantines in the French; but succeeded owing to his wonderful vigilance, tact, and diplomacy. It seems that even a trace of this can be found in G2, in the passage[2] where the Emperor endeavours to amuse and entertain the embassy after his own fashion; but when he finds they desire to dally no longer, he concedes at once, conciliating them by giving them their own way. The presence of much of this material in G2 is explainable if the author wrote it after a visit to the East, due to the crusade preached at the home of the *Girart de Roussillon* legend. G2 was indeed in all probability composed in the region of Limousin; but "jongleurs" must have been constantly passing between Vézelay and Limousin, both on the same pilgrim route, and the latter the abode of a famous literary court which would attract "jongleurs"; so that the likelihood of the author of G2 having been present at the gathering at Vézelay in 1146, resulting in himself having taken part in the Second Crusade, is not impaired by the distance which separates Burgundy from Limousin.

There is an equal probability that the inspiration to rewrite the story of the long warfare between South France and the Kingdom of France in the Carolingian age arose from historical conditions. A "jongleur" who had been to the East on the Second Crusade, and had returned, fired with fresh ideas and inspiration, would have found soon afterwards at home a situation analogous to that in the story of *Girart de Roussillon.* In 1152, Louis VII. of France, no longer deterred by the wise

1. Article in "La Grande Encyclopédie".
2. Section 15 in P. Meyer's translation, op.cit.

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counsel of Suger, divorced, at the Council of Beaugency, his young wife Eleanor of Aquitaine. She had attended the meeting at Vézelay at which the crusade was preached; she was herself the daughter of the "first troubadour", William VII., Count of Poitiers. She must therefore have been well known to all who frequented the courts of Poitou or Limousin; and for them her career must have been of special interest. In addition she was a lover of poets and poetry; many troubadours addressed their lyrics to her; and one of them, at least, loved her in earnest. The divorce was a ruinous political step; of itself it detached all South-West France from the Capetian dominion. But, in addition, Eleanor immediately married Count Henry of Anjou, who had just inherited Normandy and Brittany. More than half France was thus united in the hands of a bold, active, enterprising ruler, hostile to the King of France. Ill-feeling began at once; and by 1153 had developed into actual hostilities, which lasted intermittently until 1180. The sight of half France under a rival power the fierce enemy of the French King, may well have inspired a "jongleur" to revive the legend of a very similar rivalry in the Carolingian age, as Bédier has traced to the wars of France in the twelfth century against the Saracens in Spain the inspiration for reviving in the *Chanson de Roland* Charlemagne's battle with the Basques. This would place the date of G2 a little while after the events narrated; and therefore in accord with Lot's evidence that it was posterior to the *Brut* of Wace. The Second Crusade in 1147, followed by the development of a rival power holding half France in 1152 and 1153 would explain the rewriting of the *Girart* legend with the addition of the considerable Oriental element. G2 may then with considerable safety be placed between 1155 and 1165.

Concerning the date of the Latin *Vita*, P. Meyer's view has not enjoyed immunity from opposition. He based his arguments for the date on the mention of a miracle as having been seen "nostris oculis" by the author of the Latin Life, a miracle which was accomplished under the pontificate of Alexander II., 1061—1073. From this P. Meyer held that L must have been composed towards the end of the eleventh century, or, at the latest, at the very beginning of the twelfth. The reasoning has been opposed by Bédier.[1] He noted at the head of the

1. "Les Légendes épiques" II.

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passage mentioned by P. Meyer, the words "Istud Berthe miraculum inveni hoc modo scriptum", which he alleged as indicating that the miracle in question was not witnessed but reported by the author of L. Bédier deduced the earliest possible date from § 78 of the Life, where, in the enumeration of the religious buildings founded by Girart, the author writes of the monastery of St. Pierre d'Auxerre as endowed with regular canons: and notes it also as in "suburbio urbis". Chérest[1] had shown from historical evidence that Bishop Humbaut introduced regular canons into the monastery in question in 1100: and that from 1150 it ceased to be in the "faubourgs" of the city. The Latin Life would therefore be between these dates; and, as in so short a work special mention is made of the regular canons of St. Pierre d'Auxerre, the work was probably composed soon after 1100, when the institution was still a striking event.[2] This would be further supported by the great event which took place in 1104, the dedication of the "Eglise de la Madeleine" at Vézelay, one of the two great monasteries the foundation of which is due to the historical personage bearing the name of Girart. This event would seem to provide a natural inspiration for the monk of Pothières to recount the life and deeds of the founder of Vézelay and Pothières; or if, as Stimming[3] urges, the monk wrote to laud the fame of Pothières as against the rival glory of Vézelay, the event would incite him all the more to celebrate his own monastery afresh, so that the new prestige of Vézelay should not detract from the renown of Pothières. It seems probable, therefore, that the work was written between 1100 and 1120. If P. Meyer's date is too early, all critics are agreed that the Latin Life is anterior to the extant "chanson de geste", which belongs to the middle of the twelfth century at the earliest.

In the introduction, the author of L clearly refers to an earlier work on the subject. He declares his intention (§§ 1—3) of relating again the life and deeds of Girart. "Gesta nobilissimi comitis Girardi de Rossellon, *quanquam jubilatorio favore in populis ubique multi-*

1. Aimé Chérest, in "Congrès scientifique de France"; tome II., 25th session, p. 334 seqq. (1858).
2. Modern criticism tends to place the "Vita" in the early years of the twelfth century. Ph-A. Becker places it in this century because of references to several monasteries, entrusted to regular canons. ("Grundriss der altfranzösischen Literatur". I. Theil, älteste Denkmäler, Nationale Heldendichtung, p. 89, 1907.)
3. Stimming, op. cit.

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pliciter divulgentur, eaque nimirum admirando tum triumphalibus ingentium bellorum preconiis, tum spectabilis nobilitatis magnificentia, fama celebri ubique volitante, admodum attollantur, nos tamen, his omissis, *ea dumtaxat que ab antiquioribus nostris veraci ac simplici relatione didicimus,* brevi compendio, memorie profutura posteriorum, scripto tradere, Deo cooperante, decernimus". Later (§ 5) the author of L states that his account of the wars of Girart is derived, not only from the witness of his ancestors, but from a song or songs in the vulgar tongue ("vulgo concinnente"). This is the stereotyped method of medieval writers when invoking as source any "chanson de geste"; and these allusions cannot refer to the extant "chanson", whose earliest possible date is about the middle of the twelfth century; they must refer to an older poem now lost.

Paul Meyer also adduces from allusions in other epics evidence of a "chanson" of *Girart de Roussillon,* prior to the Latin Life. *Garin le Loherain, chanson de geste* mentions Girart several times, e.g. :—

"Tes regnes est soubreteus et chetis . . .
. . . Tant a Gerars qui le Rossillon tint
Gasté la terre et trestout le pais".
(*Garin le Loh.* I., 53).

"Charles Martiaus . . .
Envers le duc Girart gueroia il;
Mainte orfe firent, et mainte homme morir
Dont mainte dame remesrent sans mari".
(Ibid. I., 76).

"La terre est povre et li pais gastés
Par dant Gerart qu'est de Roucillon nes
Et par paiens, les cuivers defaes". (Ibid. I., 81).

This evidence is not conclusive for the existence of an original poem; because Meyer's argument that *Garin le Loherain* is too old to refer to G2 is very uncertain. The work of Bédier in *Les Légendes épiques* would place the earliest date of French epic literature rather later than previous scholars had believed it to be. But another reference in *Garin le Loherain* is more important, as it refers to a traitor Hardré as betraying Girart:—

"Onques mes aives li Loherens Hervis
Le vostre pere, par mon chief! ne trait
Si comme fist Hardres le vies floris
Envers Girart qui Roucillon maintint".
(Ibid. I., 140).

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Hardré must have been a fairly important character to be referred to here as an example of treachery; yet there is absolutely no reference to a Hardré in L or in G2. Further, an allusion in *Renaud de Montauban* refers to a war in the legend related according to the version we find in L, very different from the account in G2. *Renaud de Montauban*[1] runs :—

> " Se li rois en fu lies, puis en ot marrement
> Girars l'en guerroia cui Rossillons apant,
> Et Doon de Nantueil o le grenon ferrant.
> Cil manderent a Karle molt grant desfiement;
> Puis l'enchaucierent il, le confanon pendant
> Dusque desos Paris en j. pre verdoiant ".

The Latin Life relates how Girart chased Charles up to the very gates of Paris; but in G2 the account is quite different, and no mention is made of this incident. The reference therefore cannot be to G2.

There can then be little doubt that there existed an original poem of *Girart de Roussillon,* now lost; and that it is this poem to which the author of the Latin Life refers as one of the sources of his account. There is also little doubt that G2 is derived in part from this lost poem; in the introductory " tirades " the author of G2 invokes an older " chanson " as a source of his work. But if the existence of an older " chanson " is established, none of it is extant; beyond scanty documentary and historical evidence, an idea of what it contained can only be obtained from an examination of its derivatives. G1 can only be reconstructed from the data supplied by L and G2; and G1 must be reconstructed in order to ascertain whether there existed in the original " chanson " any of the passages which in the extant poem offer so marked a resemblance to the extant versions of the *Tristan* legend.

(2) A Reconstruction of G1.

I.

To determine the contents of G1 it is necessary first to examine the wide differences in the story as narrated by its two derivatives, L and G2. To show these the story can be divided into five main sections. In the introduction up to the first war, L mentions Girart as son

1. " Renaud de Montauban ", edited by Michelant, p. 45.

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of Drogon, son of Gondebaund, King of Burgundy. Girart possesses almost half France as his fief; he marries Berte, elder daughter of Hugues, Comte de Sens; while King Charles le Chauve marries Hugues' younger daughter, Eloysa. On the death of Hugues, both sons-in-law claim the heritage; Charles' claims are vague, and evidently blamed by the author; and it is Charles who begins the warfare (§§ 1—10).[1]

In G2[2] the two brides are daughters of the Emperor of Constantinople, who has promised them to Charles and Girart, in return for their services against the pagans. Charles learns that Elissent, the younger, affianced to Girart, is the more beautiful, and, in spite of complete opposition, takes her for himself. Girart, to whom Elissent has pledged her love, is pacified with difficulty, and marries Berte for her sister's sake; being absolved from his feudal dependence on Charles as a condition of the marriage. Charles is jealous of Girart's love; and soon finds a pretext for beginning war (Tirades 1—41). The introduction is thus strikingly different from the account in L.

The wars up to Girart's exile are dismissed by the author of L in three lines; while they form by far the greater part of G2. In the latter, Charles gains Girart's castle of Roussillon by treachery, and Girart flees; but later regains it. An endeavour is made to make peace, to which Charles is advised even by Thierry, an old baron nourishing long-standing enmity against Girart's family. Charles being obstinate for war, a battle is arranged at Vaubeton, eventually stopped by a miracle from heaven. Peace is made, on the condition of Thierry's exile for five years; but on his return he and his sons are killed by some of Girart's cousins, and war breaks out afresh, lasting intermittently for five years. Girart gets the worst of it; as he loses, his pride and fierceness increase; he massacres people, burns monasteries, and commits other crimes. He is eventually defeated, deprived of all his possessions, banished; and with his wife he flees into exile (Tirades 42—510).

In the exile in L, Girart is already penitent, accepting his lot willingly as a penance. After leading a hard, bitter existence, he eventually becomes a coal-

1. The sections refer to P. Meyer's translation of the Life; Romania, VII., pp. 161—231.
2. See pp. 4, 5.

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carrier, while his wife earns a poor pittance as a seamstress. After the normal time of penance, seven years, has elapsed, God effects a reconciliation between Girart and Charles by means of Elissent. Charles is moved to complete pity, reinstating Girart in all his old possessions; but soon demons kindle Charles against Girart, and struggles break out again; until finally, in a battle, an angel appearing forbids Charles to go on; final peace is then achieved (§§ 11—68). The fourth part relates in greater detail two incidents of the wars before the exile; the rest, except for a few traditions and topographical details, is wholly devoted to recording the pious works and miracles of Girart and Berte (§§ 69—248).

In G2, Girart is driven unwillingly into exile; tracked down like wild beasts, he and Berte lead a harsh life in the forest. Wandering on from place to place, they meet some hermits, one of whom tries to cure Girart of his feudal " démesure " and his wrath against Charles, and finally succeeds through the help of Berte. Girart and Berte then fulfil several poor occupations, Girart finally becoming coal-carrier, Berte seamstress. At the end of twenty-two years they are seized with a longing to return; and Berte advises Girart to seek reconciliation by means of Elissent's love for him. This is finally accomplished, although but a grudging consent is wrung out of Charles, who has no desire to cease hostilities, recommencing them indeed as soon as possible. For years Elissent works with Girart and his barons to bring Charles and his faction to reason, during which is narrated the episode of Fouque, Girart's baron, and his marriage to Aupais. Girart, seeing the splendid throng of his barons in battle array, is almost drawn back again into his feudal " démesure " and warlike zest; but God punishes him for it by the death of Girart's only surviving son, at the age of five, at the hands of a baron, Gui de Risnel, a passage which is a supreme example of the beauty of medieval art. Girart fights Charles and wins; the Pope intervenes for peace, obtained through Girart's final submission to Charles. The fourth part notes Girart's foundation of monasteries; and chronicles two miracles at Vézelay (Tirades 511—674).

There is therefore a wide difference between G2 and L. The difference in the proportion of the various parts in each narrative is yet more striking. The Latin Life consists of 248 sections. The exile occurs in section 11,

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the previous wars occupying only three lines; the return and reconciliation are complete by § 24; the final peace takes place in § 72; and the whole of the rest, nearly three-quarters of the whole, is devoted to pious deeds and miracles. The "chanson de geste" has 674 "tirades"; the wars up to Girart's exile occupy no less than 510 of these; the final peace takes place in "tirade" 640; the miracles only occupy 34.

There remains, however, a certain amount of material, common to both narratives; and it may be said that this material was certainly in G1, from which the authors of L and of G2 both derived it. The following are the common features. Girart is a son of Drogon; he is a vassal of King Charles, and holds the bulk of Southern France as his fief. He marries Berte, while Charles marries her younger sister; a quarrel arises between Girart and Charles, and the latter begins the war by besieging Roussillon; one of Girart's servants betrays the castle to Charles, and Girart flees. He recaptures his domain; Charles gathers his army for another war, and there is a fierce battle at Vaubeton, stopped by a storm and a miracle from heaven. Girart is finally defeated and loses all his lands; he flees with his wife into exile, leading a hard, poor life; Girart becomes a coal-carrier for a living, Berte a seamstress. After a long while they return in disguise, and through the mediation of the Queen some reconciliation is effected, Girart being given back all his possessions. Wars soon break out again; after many years of fighting, final peace is made; Girart and Berte have two children dying young, and they found two monasteries at Vézelay.

So brief an account can hardly represent the whole material of the lost "chanson de geste"; even if it did, the wide differences between L and G2 in the rest of their narratives would remain unexplained.

II.

An examination must now be made of the episodes in L which are not in G2, in order to discover whether any of these are traceable to G1. At first sight this would seem a simple task. The Latin Life is the oldest extant account of the legend; and in point of date is

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probably far nearer to G1 than it is to G2, as Bédier's work[1] has shown the unlikelihood of the existence of epic literature long before the twelfth century. It would be natural to expect that L would be a fairly accurate reproduction of G1; and that in any case where L and G2 differed, the probability would be that L represented the version of the original. Unfortunately this is not always so; to reconstruct G1 from L alone would even result in a complete falsification of the nature of the legend, as the spirit of L is different from that of the "chansons de geste".

P. Meyer has pointed out[2] that in the Latin Life we have one of the hagiographic writings, characteristic of medieval literature, a work composed with a very special object, and from a very special viewpoint. Whatever the position of Girart was in G1, the author of L is resolved to spare nothing to glorify him, to exalt his holiness, his piety, his noble deeds. Girart is a saint in all but name;[3] devoted to the founding of monasteries and churches, and to other pious works. Miracles are worked in his name. He has ever striven to keep peace with his fierce and treacherous sovereign Charles; he only fights in sheer self-defence when all efforts for peace fall to the ground; not one jot of blame is ever thrown on him for the wars and quarrels which devastate the land; if he is stripped of his possessions he takes it as a penance imposed by God, and willingly suffers it. It is clear also from the unequal proportion of the various parts of the narrative in L that it is written from a prejudiced outlook, seeking the minimisation of the pride and evil of Girart.

Stimming,[4] however, is disposed to believe L to be less of a perversion of G1 than it is usually held to be. He certainly admits that the author of L transferred Girart from a warlike, epic hero into a saintly, ecclesiastical one. But he holds that in G1 as in L there was the same biassed outlook. In the original "chanson", he writes, Girart was undoubtedly a great national hero; the poet gave him all his sympathy, as the monk did in the Latin Life; and all the blame was thrown on the side of the King. There was in both accounts the same glorification, only in G1 from a feudal and epic, in L from

1. "Les Légendes épiques", tome IV.
2. Op.cit., Introduction, p. XXV.
3. It may be noted that the MSS. of the Latin "Vita" are all found in collections of MSS. of Lives of Saints.
4. Op.cit., Chapter IV.

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an ecclesiastical standpoint. Stimming urges that the mention in L and in G2 of Girart's great possessions, almost all the South of France, indicates that G1 was written under the inspiration of the awakening of the South of France to consciousness of a separate nationality from the Kingdom of France, as it differed from it in language. Girart was the national hero of the Midi; and the legends about him, and about the other Girarts, Girart de Frete and Girart de Vienne, were fused together in G1 to give the greatest force and potency to the expression of the national feeling. The Latin Life was but an ecclesiastical rendering of this feeling; and G2, coming later, when the national spirit of the Midi had decayed, reduced much of the glory of Girart, transforming the legend into a feudal epic, where the blame and responsibility for the wars rests little more on Charles than on Girart himself.

Stimming's theory is plausible, and in itself is logical; nevertheless it must be abandoned, as it can hardly be reconciled with the facts. Several references to *Girart de Roussillon* from other French epics have been quoted,[1] some of which, it has been shown, refer only to the extant "chanson". Few as they are, they reveal that both Girart and Charles are invoked and blamed as causing the devastation of the country by continual warfare. In one reference Girart is even classed with the pagans "les cuivers" as causing disruption, misery and suffering. These few references prove conclusively that in G1 blame must have been thrown on both sides; and that if Charles took the offensive in the wars, Girart's greed and pride were no forces making for peace. This spirit would place G1 among the standard type of feudal epics, such as *Raoul de Cambrai*. There is no evidence whatever of any national epic in French medieval literature in which the hero is not "la dulce France", symbolised by the King, or by one of his great heroes. If G1 were a national epic against the French Kingdom, as Stimming urges, it would represent an utterly new, an unexampled "genre". Further, it is hardly conceivable that an epic devoted to Girart as its great hero would have related at length the wars in which he is defeated, stripped of his lands, driven into poverty and exile; hardly conceivable that a hero of

1. See pp. 27, 28.

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the Midi as against France should be revealed as undertaking the task of coal-carrying for a living, a feature which is in L, and in G2, and almost certainly therefore in G1, at any rate, according to Stimming himself. The fact that the author of L, to glorify Girart, is under the necessity of reducing the wars up to Girart's exile to three lines, shows that in these wars Girart played a far from favourable role. The original poem was therefore undoubtedly a feudal epic, of the common type in French medieval literature; and as such its main features are reproduced in G2. L is, beyond any doubt, an ecclesiastical composition, transforming much of the spirit of the original legend.

It remains to examine what in L represents an alteration of G1, what is added to the material obtained from G1, and where an omission of material drawn from G1 is likely in L. There is little doubt as to the object of the monk of Pothières in lauding the glory and piety of Girart. The whole Life is little more than an explanation of the foundation of the monastery of Pothières by Girart as an act of devotion towards God. The monk clearly wrote to enhance the renown of the monastery, and this was in order to attract to it as many pilgrims as possible. The extolling of some shrine for a pilgrim public represents very accurately the object of many a medieval composition dealing with a legendary hero. It is for this purpose that in the Introduction (§§ 1—11), the author of L adds an eulogy on the piety of Girart (§ 4). Beyond this, the Introduction may very well have been taken from G1, reproduced fairly faithfully in L. But later, in the cause of the quarrel between Girart and Charles, the author of L upholds Girart's claims to Hugues' heritage, based on his marriage with the elder daughter, while Charles' claims are vague and shadowy, and strongly blamed. It is Charles who begins the warfare, which up to Girart's exile is related in three lines (§ 10). The placing of the exile and penance of Girart so early in the Life (§11) is probably a special device by the author of L, by which Girart acquires early all the pious qualities which the author of L requires in him. In the exile Girart, far from going unwillingly into poverty and seeking vengeance on Charles as in G2, here accepts the penance as a necessity imposed by God. "At ille (i.e., Girart) in Altissimo spem ponens, atque umbra alarum illius protectus,

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exilium una cum conjuge intrepide petens, et sicuti de beato Paulo primo heremita perhibetur, necessitatem fugiendi in bonam voluntatem convertit penitendi" (§ 12). The exile lasts seven years; the reason given is simply "quo nimirum numero solet perfectio designari", the time required for the accomplishment of his penance and his perfection as a holy man. It may be added that the number seven has no importance in determining the length of the exile in G1; it is a stereotyped figure which the author of L uses, as if a magic phrase, as often as possible. Berte dies seven years before Girart; Mary Magdalene has seven devils; God's anger towards the people for disobeying Girart's wishes as regards burial is shown by an absence of rain for seven years. So when the author of G2 in relating the exile refers to "lescris ques as mosters" (v. 7676), and immediately adds that the exile lasted twenty-two years, the contradiction is no reason why he should not have meant by his reference the original poem or the Latin Life.

The means by which the exile is related in L again reveal the author's special purpose. The rough occupation Girart fulfils is not related as unfavourable to him, but as an illustration of his marvellous patience and humility. "Denique in ammirande humilitatis indicio, illud vile exercitium carbonum . . . devote aggreditur" (§ 13). So too, the return is effected by God through Elissent to fulfil the words of David, "Dominus erigit elisos, Dominus solvit compeditos" (§ 17); and the reason for the return is the same as in § 12: "Transactis autem VIItem annorum curiculis, Spiritus Sancti septiformis karismatibus jam affati imbuti, insignes heremite Deo dignam penitentiam perhibentur exercuisse. Siquidem, illo disponente ac cooperante in cujus ditione universa consistunt regna, et sine cujus nutu nec folium arboris, nec unus passerum solo proruunt, tali tenore celitus meruerunt, regina mediante, ad propria revocari" (§§ 17, 18). The reconciliation is complete and sudden; Charles' heart is touched with pity at the clear manifestation of divine intervention on behalf of his rival. Very soon afterwards devils kindle him against Girart.

Up to this point in the Life, the nature of G1 has been almost completely altered by the author of L. In the following part, while much is altered, a certain amount of the original is probably preserved. The monk

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adds that while Charles is preparing war against Girart, soon after the reconciliation, Girart and Berte are devoting themselves to the practice of good works. This is probably his own addition. There is also little doubt that he exaggerates Girart's reluctance to fight, and his despatch of messenger after messenger to Charles to endeavour to secure peace. But in G2 Girart makes some effort for peace, such that there is little doubt that there was in G1 a precendent for some of his pacific efforts in L. On the failure of these war is inevitable; and the account of the battle in G1 was in all probability as we find it in L; save for one refining feature, Girart's refusal to pursue Charles when the latter is defeated. The driving of Charles right back into Paris was almost certainly in G1;[1] and supplies a clear indication that Girart's refusal to pursue Charles in the first battle is an addition by the author of L. The artificial construction of the end seems invented by the monk of Pothières. Girart wins twelve victories over Charles; and in honour, either of these or of the twelve apostles, he founds twelve abbeys and monasteries, each with twelve inmates. The number here is as meaningless as the number seven used elsewhere by the author.[2] After the end of the Life, the author proceeds to recount in greater detail two of the battles in the wars up to Girart's exile,[3] which, in the Life itself, he had dismissed in three lines. His choice of the two episodes to relate reveals again his object of glorifying Girart. The first incident is the capture of Roussillon by Charles, revealing his treachery in a striking manner; in the second, the Vaubeton battle, the author reiterates almost with monotonous insistence, Charles' fury against Girart: "Rex itaque pre ira ignominiosi pudoris fervens superbaque dedignatione insaniens" (§ 137). "Rex vero contra Girardum frendens insania nimia" (§ 142). "Igitur rex ira superbe indignationis fervens" (§ 145). In these repetitions the author's partiality is evident.

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1. See p. 28.
2. See p. 35.
3. Stimming (op.cit.) and Bédier ("Légendes épiques", tome II.) have shown clearly that these battles are here retold as some incidents of the wars before Girart's exile. They are not, as P. Meyer thought (op.cit.) a third war related after the last peace, without motives, and differing from the correct order of the wars as given in G2. There is no difference between the order in L and in G2.

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The author of the *Vita*, moreover, had other sources for his composition than G1. This was first pointed out by P. Meyer, who urged that three main features were to be eliminated from the Latin Life, as not being drawn from the original poem: the historical notions about Girart and Berte, the pious works and miracles, and the local tradition and topographical details about the Mont Laçois. P. Meyer points out that the author of L refers to the historical details in § 4 of the Life as having been drawn from chronicles;[1] and shows that, if the chronicles are unknown, the details drawn may be exact, as they correspond with the few details of the historical Girart which are preserved. However the details on the parentage of Girart and Berte in L are disputable. P. Meyer holds that Girart's father Droon was in G1, as he is called Drogon in G2. Hugues as Berte's father may have come from G1, as Longnon held,[2] or from the foundation charter of Pothières and Vézelay.

There are also in the Latin Life features whose origin, according to P. Meyer,[3] is as follows. They are drawn from the extremely popular and widespread legend of the removal of the body of Sainte Marie-Madeleine from Provence to Vézelay by a monk named Badilon, sent by Girart. The story is historically absurd, but as a legend was famous. It was originally held that the legend was a thirteenth century invention; but P. Meyer has shown that extant documents referring to the legend go back to the earliest years of the twelfth century. He points out three parallels in language between the legend and L. His contention seems sound that the lesser-known Latin Life drew the story from the far-renowned legend, but that the omission of the removal of the body to Vézelay in L is because its author was celebrating Pothières monastery rather than Vézelay, and might even regard the attractions of Vézelay as rivalling those of Pothières. Certainly two miracles related in G2 are there placed at Vézelay, while in L one of them is placed at Pothières. P. Meyer would also account for the writing of L by the sudden fame attained by the rival monastery of Vézelay through the legend of Sainte Marie-Madeleine. Although this is uncertain,

1. Op.cit., Introduction, pp. XXVII—XXXII.
2. A. Longnon. "Girart de Roussillon dans l'histoire", in Revue Historique, VIII., p. 272.
3. P. Meyer, in Romania, VII (1878), pp. 231—235.

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there is no doubt that this legend in L is drawn from another source than G1.

Most of the pious works and miracles, which form three-quarters of the Latin Life, are placed by Meyer as drawn from charters, and only incorporated in the legend by the author of L. The whole of this material is certainly not to be attributed to the monk. It will be noted later that the historical Girart had a reputation for piety, and founded the monasteries of Pothières and Vézelay. The Latin Life exaggerates rather than invents the pious side of Girart's life. The piety of Girart as represented in history, and his founding of the two monasteries, being evidenced by historical documents, L and G2, were doubtless in G1 also.

P. Meyer places among the features in L not drawn from G1 the topographical details of the " Mont Laçois ", and some historical data of Girart and his wife. He rightly urges that the details of the " Mont Laçois " may have been partly derived from G1, but certainly also from monastic literature and tradition. It is not clear why the historical details about Girart and Berte should be eliminated from G1 because they were obtained from the foundation charter of the monasteries of Pothières and Vézelay. It seems perfectly possible that the foundation charter should have been accessible to the author of G1; if he was not a " monk-jongleur " himself, he must at least have had intimate relations with the monks, as he must have drawn the story itself from the partly historical, partly legendary traditions preserved by the monks in the monasteries. Bédier's work[1] has shown that the " jongleurs " almost always drew upon the storehouse of monastic tradition for the outlines of their " chansons de geste ". It seems reasonable to suppose that much of whatever monastic tradition was available for the author of L was accessible to the author of G1; and that the historical data about Girart and Berte were in the original " chanson "; especially as even Meyer admits the existence of some of them in G1. These historical notions, however, are not of supreme importance in the reconstruction of the legend in G1; as, where G2 differs from L, in the parentage of Berte, there is little doubt that the account in G2 was invented by its author.

1 " Les Légendes épiques ".

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III.

It has now been shown that L is a very unreliable piece of evidence for the nature of the legend in G1; and that its alterations, omissions, and additions leave little from which a faithful reproduction of G1 may be assumed. Therefore it is clear that where L and G2 differ, L is not always to be considered as nearer to the version in G1 than is G2. The features in G2 not traceable to G1 are twofold. First, those which are not in the intermediate version L, and which, it is reasonable to suppose, would not have been omitted by the author of L had he found them in G1. Second, those which contain references to a period later than G1 or L, or indications of such a period in the subject-matter. Apart from these the account of G2 may be taken, broadly speaking, as a fair "remaniement" of the lost epic.

The beginning of G2 (vv. 1—598), and the end (vv. 7756—10,002), have been referred to already as presenting a striking difference from the usual material of Old French epic literature. The romantic beauty of so many scenes in these parts of the "chanson" has always been noticed as affording a contrast with the central part of the narrative. P. Meyer adduced strong arguments to prove that the introduction in G2 was an addition by its author.[1] In the first place, the story in G2 has a beautiful exposition, but one extremely different from the account in L.[2] Also the introduction is joined very loosely to the main part, so that the "tirades" around verse 598 read very badly together, forming a broken and rather illogical narrative. It is clear, from what Meyer points out, that the author of G2 has not troubled to harmonise his introduction with the body of the narrative. After the introduction no allusion is made to the Byzantine origin of the two sisters, which is not in L. Girart and his wife, when exiled, never think of seeking the Emperor's court as a place of refuge. Girart is in L the vassal of Charles; in G2 he is absolved from his dependence and obligations as part of the marriage treaty. In the Introduction of G2, there is a clear reference to this:—

> "E fu li sos omages cuites clamaz
> E sos fius en a leu toz autreiaz" (vv. 497—498).

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1. Meyer, op. cit., Introduction, pp. XXVII. seqq.
2. See pp. 4, 5—also pp. 28, 29.

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In the central part of G2 some significant features may be noted in this connection. Soon after the main part begins there are two allusions to the position of Girart as shown in the introduction of G2. Charles says:—

" Girarz nō est mos om ne ne tient fei
E seu mal li pois faire ne me deslei "
(vv. 614—615),

and Girart himself alludes to it:—

" Queu tien tot en aleu des leireençai " (v. 846).

Further on, however, in the central part, the poet has apparently forgotten to reconcile the story with his introduction. Girart's position is that of a vassal of Charles; and is used as a strong argument against war by his counsellors. Odilon, Girart's uncle, warns him:—

" Ce ne pues tu neiar ne escondire
Ne sies ses om liges e el tes sire
Nel pues cachar de canp ne desconfire
Que nas forfait con feu quin uoudreit dire "
(vv. 3024—3027).

Landri refers to witnessing Girart's position as vassal:—

" Girarz fu sos om lige queu ui lomage
Quen pres de lui en feu son eritage "
(vv. 3052—3).

Girart twice refers to the fact that an evil deed of the King's has now absolved him from fulfilling his duties as Charles' vassal (v. 3519 and v. 4311); while on Charles' side a baron gives this advice:—

" Retien ton baron ome ton naturav " (v. 3657)

referring to Girart; and another warns Charles:—

" Non deis ton lige ome quis uos seruir
De gerre escometre nahatir " (vv. 3669—3670).

Pierre, Charles' ambassador, warns Girart:—

" Cons qui a tort prent gerre p son air
Vers son lige seinor cui deit seruir "
(vv. 4445—4446),

and on Girart's side Fouque substantiates the warning:—

" Car tu es ses om liges de sa maison " (v. 4840).

This striking evidence clearly reveals that the author of G2 in his introduction added Girart's freeing from vassaldom, and apparently forgot to reconcile it with the main body of his story (where Girart's position is as in L, and therefore almost certainly as in G1), save where the main part commences, and where a contradiction with his introduction would be too evident.

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One critic, Stimming,[1] has attacked P. Meyer's theory that the bulk of the introduction in G2 is an addition by the later "jongleur". Stimming holds that the introduction in G2, with the exception of the name and setting of Constantinople, the Byzantine origin of the sisters and all references betraying an ecclesiastical hand, is traceable to G1. He considers that such episodes as the snatching away of Girart's bride by Charles, the pledging of Elissent's love to Girart, and the gift of her ring as a token, were in G1; omitted by the author of L for the sake of brevity. Stimming therefore is obliged to have recourse to much elaborate hair-splitting in order to eliminate from the account in G2 all lines containing indications of the Orient, the Church and the Papacy. By this means he determines that 227 verses of the introduction in G2 were in G1.[2] But his explanation of the omissions in the Latin Life is insufficient. It is noteworthy that in G2 everyone endeavours to convince Charles of the folly of his marriage with Elissent. L not only omits this feature but describes a marriage which is the very reverse of that in G2. The monk writes:— "Rex quoque Francorum Karolus Calvus alteram sororem, ea juniorem, nomine Eloysam, regali pompa, sublimi conubio, in regno sibi conjunxerat". There is no question here of omission for the sake of brevity; the author of L clearly praises Charles' marriage. Let the object of the author of L be borne in mind; then let it be considered whether he would conceivably have praised the marriage of Charles if he had found in G1 a marriage that was blamed. The cause of the quarrel in G2 would supply the strongest possible support to the author of L in his glorification of Girart by the condemnation of Charles. The monk places the cause of the wars as Charles' obstinate maintenance of his ill-founded claim to part of his father-in-law's heritage. How much more strikingly could he have represented Charles as the evil king, Girart as the innocent sufferer of injury, had he found in his source that Charles was in addition the thief of Girart's bride!

Another argument must therefore be added to those of P. Meyer,[3] urging that the introduction in G2 was not in G1: namely, that the author of L would never have omitted the double marriage as in G2, had he found it in G1. The addition of this introductory part by its author

1. Stimming, op.cit., Chap. V. 2. Op. cit., p. 387. 3. See pp. 39, 40.

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is also borne out by the difference in spirit between the introductions of L and G2. The love spirit and the love intrigue in G2, so sharply in contrast with the main epic narrative, have already been described.[1] This spirit is also only found in the beginning and the end of G2, and is imperfectly blended with the main part of the narrative. In the central portion of the narrative there is only one reference to Élissent (vv. 653, 654), which comes soon after the end of the introduction. Up to verse 598, and from verse 7756 to the end, Elissent is a leading figure. There is little doubt therefore that this element has been added by the author of G2.

Other elements in the introduction in G2, absent in L, help to show that the author of G2 has not blended his introduction fully with the epic narrative. In the introduction in G2, Constantinople and the East are the setting of many of the scenes. The Emperor of Constantinople is described as if the author himself had seen him.[2] Constantinople too,[3] is accurately painted, while the author devotes a considerable role to the Pope, absent in L.[4] These elements are peculiar to the "chanson de geste". There can be little doubt that an introduction containing so many elements peculiar to itself is an addition by its author; at any rate that he has rewritten this part with such extreme liberty as to make of it almost another story.

P. Meyer[5] first maintained that the end part of G2, in which the love intrigue is resumed, and romantic scenes of a peculiar, mystic beauty are again found, was rewritten from the old story, also with extreme liberty, by the same poet who rewrote the introduction. On this point no doubt has been cast by critics. A brief resumption of Meyer's reasons for this argument will therefore suffice. They are partly based on the complete rejuvenation of spirit and setting in the end part of G2 (vv. 7756—10,002). The rejuvenation of the characters in this part (adduced by Meyer as an argument for the free "remaniement" of the end part of G2), is not of great importance; in all Old French epics pretensions to verisimilitude are small. Charlemagne fights vigorously in the *Chanson de Roland* at the age of two hundred. But in the end part of G2, characters who were killed in the main part

1. See pp. 4-8.
2. See P. Meyer, op. cit., Introduction, p. XLV.; and also p. 20.
3. See p. 20.
4. See p. 22.
5. Meyer, op.cit., Introduction, pp. XII.—XLIV.

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of the epic, Thierry and his nephews, Boson, Gilbert, Seguin, Bernart, Bégon, Landri, Fouchier, are resuscitated, and many of them appear in a new spirit of gay, laughing youth. Particularly striking examples of this spirit are the episode of Fouque and his marriage with the young girl Aupais (Tirades 565—590), and the episode of the Queen's return to Paris (Tirades 603—605), where Charles appears as the morose old husband and Elissent as the gay, young wife who laughs at his frowning countenance.

Meyer's argument is also based on the extreme difference of incident in this part between G2 and L. The end of G2 forms a complete drama in itself. Two interests, two rival groups of characters, on one side the Queen, Girart and his barons, on the other Charles and his court, are in conflict, while the whole is knit together by a common spirit. The end part also abounds in poetic scenes of great descriptive beauty—such as that of the Queen's return to Paris (Tirades 603—605), and that of the murder of Girart's young son (Tirades 618—621). Scenes similar to these are also found in the introduction, but are rare in the central part of the narrative.

Moreover the most important episode in the final wars in L is omitted in G2 : namely, that Charles was driven back to the gates of Paris by Girart. G2 here not only differs from L but from the allusion in *Renaud de Montauban*,[1] which must refer to G1. There is little doubt therefore that the end has been completely transformed by the author of G2; and that the account of this part in L (§§ 24—72), described at considerable length as compared with the brevity of the previous parts, is a fair reproduction of G1, save for some artificialities of construction and excessive insistence on the piety of Girart, which betray the hand of the monk of Pothières.[2]

The main body of G2[3] is a fairly accurate, although probably an expanded account of the story in L,[4] and is therefore traceable to G1. One important addition is made to the account as in L by the author of G2 : namely,

1. See p. 28.
2. See §§ 24—36 for the cause of the renewal of war in the "Vita"; also §§ 60, 63, 68—71 for the means of the achievement of final peace; in Romania, VII (1878), pp. 182—190.
3. VV. 598—7756.
4. In L, the mention of King Charles le Chauve is undoubtedly an alteration of the original epic. G2 follows G1 in making the king Charles Martel. Allusions in other epics (see pp. 27, 28) refer to Charles Martel; while Stimming (op.cit., pp. 44, 45) has indicated several features in G2 applying better to Charles Martel than to Charles le Chauve. He holds that the popular legend of wars between Girart de Roussillon and Charles Martel was contaminated in L with the historical tradition of wars between Girart de Vienne and Charles le Chauve; and this is probable.

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the scenes in which Girart and Berte meet hermits during their exile, and where Girart is converted by one of them. This part (Tirades 510—524) is not in L; and this has served for Stimming[1] as an argument that it was not in G1. However, his main argument to prove that these scenes were added by the author of G2 is that they betray the hand of an ecclesiastic, as do the scenes in the introduction and the end of G2, in which the Pope plays such an important part. Certainly the role of the Pope is an addition by the later author; but the same does not necessarily apply to the hermit scenes where the Pope is not mentioned. Stimming's argument is that the author of G2, as distinct from the author of G1, was a monk-jongleur, with a special interest in the church and clergy; and therefore that features in G2 which betray an ecclesiastical interest, such as the role given to the hermit, were additions made by the author of G2. If this were a valid argument it would have to be conceded that passages in other poems containing features of ecclesiastic interest were written by monk-jongleurs. The *Tristan* legend, for instance, contains the scenes with the hermit Ogrin. Yet how is one to conceive of a monk as author of these scenes, as painting an ideal of love opposed to Christian law and social duty? The presence of the hermit scenes does not necessarily betray the hand of a monk-jongleur; so that the scenes may have existed in G1, even if it were certain that its author, as Stimming urges, was not a monk-jongleur. But G1 may very well have been written by a monk-jongleur; at any rate, its author must have been intimately related to the monks of Pothières and Vézelay, and in close touch with all the monastic traditions.[2]

The absence of the hermit scenes in L, although not used as a strong argument by Stimming, might seem nevertheless a strong reason for assuming the addition of these scenes by the author of G2. These scenes occur, however, in the main part of G2, in which there is no other great departure[3] from the version of L. It has been shown[4] that this part in G2 as a whole is traceable to G1. It is hardly likely that the author of G2 would have made such an important alteration in these scenes alone, while in the rest of this part he follows L faithfully. Moreover there are strong reasons for the omission of these hermit

1. Stimming, op.cit., Chap. IV.
2. See pp. 48—50.
3. Save for one passage (see p. 46), which does not constitute any important alteration in the narrative as in L.
4. See p. 43.

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scenes by the author of L, assuming that he had found them in G1. It has been shown[1] that L was written from a very one-sided point of view. The author aimed throughout at making Girart a saint in all but name, and the extensive alterations and additions carried out by him for this purpose have already been indicated.[2] Girart's faults are all but eliminated; and his exile is placed early in order to make Girart as soon as possible the pious hero which is the author's ideal. It is clear that in the account of the exile the author of L is still dominated by his special aim; and that his version is unreliable as an indication of the version of G1. The words placed at the beginning of the account of the exile clearly reveal that Girart needs no external urging to make him repent of his sins; he realises them to the full; and by the time he is defeated and driven out by Charles he recognises his exile as a penance imposed by God, which he is ready and willing to undergo. Therefore the monk writes: [Girart] "necessitatem fugiendi in bonam voluntatem convertit penitendi".[3] There is no necessity for introducing the conversion of Girart by the hermit, as he is already converted and penitent. Such a feature would not only have been redundant; it would have opposed the author's aim, and destroyed the effect he desired to produce. To require a hermit to convert Girart would mean the portrayal of Girart as a fierce feudal lord, stubborn and headstrong, needing the strongest persuasion to be converted from his wrathful "démesure", to be deterred from the pursuit of his revenge against his King. The saintly goodness and piety of the hero who realises he has sinned in warring against Charles, and like a martyr rejoices in his punishment, would have been greatly lessened if not destroyed by the inclusion of the hermit's role. The omission of this part is in keeping with all the alterations, additions and omissions made by the author of L; it is carried out in the same spirit as all the rest. The author of L would have had every inducement to omit the hermit's role, if he had found it in G1; and that, in all probability, it was in G1, has been indicated[4] by the general adherence of G2 to G1 in this central part of the narrative.

There is one element in the central part of G2 (beyond the three allusions to the author's new

1. See p. 32.
2. See pp. 34—38.
3. See § 12 of the "Vita", quoted on p. 35.
4. See p. 43.

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introduction[1]), which must be excepted from the rest, as being an addition by the author of G2. It is the passage in Tirades 383—402, in which a battle is introduced between Girart and Charles, taking place at Civaux-sur-Vienne, in the "Marche Limousine". There is also one allusion to it just previously (v. 5741)[2]. The topography of this battle is described minutely and in detail, as if the author had been minutely acquainted with the region. That this is added by the author of G2 is likely, because the seat of war in L is placed in or around Pothières or Vézelay; and in G2 this one battle stands out from the rest, as being placed in an entirely different region. The importance of this feature in determining the locality of composition of G2 has already been described.[3] This addition does not form an exception to the statement[4] that there is no great difference between L and G2 in this central part; it is quite a small detail, as compared with scenes altering the whole spirit or aspect of the legend.

IV.

Finally, an examination of the historical evidence about Girart and Charles confirms the theory that the position and spirit of the two rivals was in G1 as in the central part of G2, and that L is the altered version. This evidence is as follows. Girart is mentioned in a document of Lothaire in 853 as "illustris comes et marchio"; and he was governor of Lothaire's part of Burgundy. On the latter's death in 855, Girart was guardian of his third son Charles, King of Provence, and he was twice (in 856 and 862) given great praise by the King. Lothaire II. and Charles le Chauve frequently attacked Charles of Provence, and Girart was probably his defender. Charles of Provence died in 863; Louis II. and Lothaire II., his brothers, shared his lands; Girart continuing, as governor, to administer Lothaire's part, Lyonnais, Vivarais, Viennais. In 868 Girart is mentioned with praise by Charles le Chauve. Lothaire dying in 869, Louis II. tried to gain all his lands, but Charles le Chauve and Louis the German combined to prevent him. Charles, however, met with strong

1. See pp. 40 and 42.
2. See Meyer, op.cit., Introduction, p. CXCII., quoted on p. 18.
3. See pp. 17, 18.
4. See pp. 43, 44.

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resistance from Girart, who, as Longnon thinks,[1] aimed at the complete independence of the lands he governed. Wars were carried on; at one period Girart was not present, and the defence of Vienne was carried on by Berte, 871.[2] Later Girart retired from France with his wife; and as in 879 papal letters mention Girart as "Gerardus quondam comes", he must have died before that date.

Other documents give information on the private life of one Girart who is clearly the same person as the "comes" Girart of political history. The foundation charter of Pothières and Vézelay relates that Girart was the son of Leuthard, that he married one Berte, daughter of Hugo and Bava, and that in 863 they founded the monasteries of Pothières and Vézelay. A text quoted by Longnon[3] reveals that Girart of Provence warns Archbishop Hincmar that in the case of attacks on some monasteries by Charles, he will take reprisals. This establishes the identity of the Girart of Provence and the Girart, founder of Vézelay. Other documents cited by P. Meyer show[4] that Girart resided in Avallonais from 819, when he was already of age, and possessed considerable lands. The first indication of his death being 879, it is very likely that the statement in L that he lived under four kings was correct; and this supports the historical accuracy of L in the few introductory details (§§ 1—5). A summary of the complete documentary evidence on Girart is therefore as follows:—

819, 827, 828: acquisition of some property in Avallonais;
827—840: Count of Paris;
841: fights at Fontenai;
842: Lothaire's "Count of the Palace";
852: more property acquired in Avallonais;
853—863: governor of Provence for Charles of Provence;
863—870: governor of the part of Provence which was under Lothaire;
870: surrenders Vienne to Charles le Chauve;
before 879: dies at Avignon.

1. A. Longnon, "Girart de Roussillon dans l'histoire" in "Revue Historique", VIII., p. 261.
2. "Annales de Saint-Bertin", edited by the "Société de l'Histoire de France".
3. "Revue Historique", VIII., p. 257.
4. Meyer, op.cit., Introduction, pp. III.—XII.

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Bédier[1] has shown that there were preserved in churches and monasteries, documents and charters about the same heroes who figure in "chansons de geste". The Latin Life and the foundation charter of Pothières and Vézelay deal with the same Girart. The celebration of the same heroes in church documents, ecclesiastical compositions, and "chansons de geste" was apparent to P. Meyer; yet he unhesitatingly denied the connection between the historical and the legendary Girart. "Quel rapport y-a-t-il entre le personnage historique et le héros épique? ou, pour préciser la question, les récits qui concernent le second ont-ils leur fondement dans les faits historiquement établis de la vie du premier? . . . Non, assurément non. C'est vainement qu'on a essayé de trouver une base historique aux guerres acharnées de Girart et de Charles".[2] Meyer admits as sole links between history and legend that in both, Girart's wife is Berte, and in both, they found Pothières and Vézelay. Meyer in this view stands apart from all other critics. Stimming[3] has shown that the restriction of the resemblances between history and legend to two is exaggerated. In both, Girart is a Count;[4] he has several possessions in Burgundy; he is ruler of Provence; he is at war with Charles for at least fifteen years, embracing three campaigns (in the documents[5] one is from 861 to 863, and another in 870); there is a friendly interval between (in the documents in 868, when Charles calls Girart "carissimus valdeque amantissimus nobis"); the last war ends, in history and in legend, unfortunately for Girart, who departs from France with his wife, having lost his possessions (in the documents in 871); in both Berte is the true consort of Girart, sharing with him fortune and misfortune alike. Stimming, following Longnon, tends to exaggerate the links between legend and history in adding these resemblances to the two admitted by P. Meyer. It has been left for Bédier[1] to vindicate the connection between history and legend; but also to emphasise its slenderness, and explain how the historical facts have become so distorted in the legend. Bédier held that the epics were not the

1. "Les Légendes épiques", IV.
2. Meyer, op.cit., Introduction, p. LIII. Directed against Longnon's argument in "Revue Historique" VIII., pp. 268, 269, who held that the legend was closely connected to the historical details.
3. Stimming, op.cit., pp. 43—45.
4. Stimming held that all references to Girart as a Duke were additions by "remanieurs".
5. "Annales de Saint Bertin".

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culmination of the development of a mass of literature, existing from the time of the events related in the epics up to the twelfth century; but that they were spontaneous growths in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, due to the inspiration of the actual social, political, and religious circumstances; and that the " jongleurs ", for material, had recourse to the few historical details of the Carolingian age, preserved by Churchmen in monasteries and abbeys, corrupted and distorted by the hand of time, and by the accumulative growth of legend and tradition. Therefore the resemblance between the epic and the historical heroes is only a resemblance in the general outline of their lives. However, the documentary evidence cited is enough to show that the struggle between Charles and Girart in history was a feudal struggle, in which although Charles was mostly to blame, Girart was by no means free from fault, although he enjoyed, as well, a reputation for piety as the founder of two monasteries; in short, that the historical situation was that depicted in the central part of G2, not as in L, which is an exaggeration of Girart the founder of Vézelay and a minimisation of Girart the feudal rival of Charles.

The situation in history, depicted also in the central part of G2, was undoubtedly that in G1. Most of the historical facts[2] incorporated in the extant versions of the legend are due to G1. Nevertheless the extant texts supply the better evidence for reconstructing G1, as the historical evidence is small. It is on account of the slenderness of the link between history and legend that discussion of the historical data has been placed after an examination of the extant versions.

V.

G1 can now be reconstructed[3] from the extant texts, supported where possible by the historical data.[4] The outline of G1 is then as follows. Count Girart de Roussillon (L,G2) is one of the great vassals (D, L,G2) of Charles

1. " Les Légendes épiques ", t. IV.
2. See however p. 43, note 4.
3. This reconstruction includes in G1 the forest life and hermit scenes and several details of the wars, omitted in Meyer's outline of G1, but omits much of the introduction as in G2, which is included in G1 by Stimming (see p. 41).
4. In the following account, the features found in documentary evidence will be indicated by a " D " placed after them in brackets.

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Martel (G2). Girart marries one Berte (D,L,G2), daughter of a Hugues or Hugo (D,L); at the same time Charles Martel (G2) marries Berte's younger sister, Eloysa or Elissent (L,G2). Girart is a powerful, active, capable lord, governing the territories over which he rules with skill and enterprise (D,L,G2). Some time after the marriages Berte's parents die (L), and both Girart and Charles claim the heritage (L); Girart's claims being on the whole slightly better founded than those of Charles because of Girart's marriage with the elder sister (L). The quarrel develops into open warfare (D,L,G2), which the King begins by attacking Roussillon with a large army; he however finds the castle impregnable (L,G2). Charles is then let into Roussillon by night, through the treachery of one of Girart's household (L,G2).[1] Girart is awakened and flees; he gathers his companions and attacks Roussillon (L,G2). The King is driven back eventually and Girart regains his castle (L, G2). Charles is furious at his defeat; and immediately masses his whole army (L,G2). Girart is nevertheless advised by his barons not to plunge recklessly into war; he sends Fouque on an embassy to Charles (G2), through which it is agreed to hold a great battle at Vaubeton (L,G2). Charles has a fierce, cruel delight in aiming to crush Girart completely, while Girart is overjoyed at the prospect of battle. Girart collects a large army from all quarters (L,G2); his father Drogon (L,G2) and men with whom he had been fighting the Saracens in Spain (L); his uncle Odilon with the men of Provence (G2); men from the Rhine (L), Germans (G2), Spaniards (L,G2), Burgundians (L)—all respond to his call. The fiercest battle takes place at Vaubeton (L,G2), the fury of the two rivals being extreme (L,G2). Never was there such an assembly (L,G2); the valleys and mountains were full of armed men, the sky brilliant with the reflection of armour, earth and heaven troubled at the immensity of the battle (L,G2). Cruel carnage takes place on both sides; and when the issue is still undecided, God intervenes by a miracle. A storm breaks out in fury; Girart's and Charles' standards are both burnt to ashes by fire from heaven (L,G2). In the battle, Thierry, a baron of Charles, nourishing a long-standing hatred of Girart's family (G2),[2] kills Girart's

1. Might not this personage be in G1 "li traitres Hardrés", who is cited in other epics (see pp. 27, 28), as an example of extreme treachery because of his conduct towards Girart?
2. The family of Thierry had suffered previously at the hands of Girart's ancestors (G2).

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father Drogon, and mortally wounds Girart's uncle, Odilon (G2). Odilon, with his dying breath, urges Girart to make peace, pleading the crime and folly of opposing one's liege lord (G2). Negotiations are begun; Charles objects to Girart's demand for the exile of Thierry for five years; but Thierry himself pleads that he may not stand in the way of an amicable settlement (G2). Peace is therefore made (D, G2) on this basis (G2). During this period, Girart is a staunch friend of Charles (D,G2).

On Thierry's return, the old family feud is reopened by Girart's cousins, who avenge Odilon and Drogon by the slaughter of Thierry (G2). Charles, always ready for war, makes Girart responsible. Counsellors on both sides urge moderation; but both Charles and Girart allow old hatred to run riot (G2), and fierce warfare again takes place (D,G2). A long series of devastating battles occur; the land is laid waste; in the fury of the two rivals all sense of honour is dead; refugees in churches are massacred while monasteries and abbeys are pillaged and burnt (G2). In the end Roussillon again falls to the King by the defection of one of Girart's men; but Girart obstinately fights on, losing more and more men every battle (G2). He is finally utterly defeated (D,L,G2); his lands are stripped from him; he and his wife are forced to leave the Kingdom and live in exile (D,L,G2), and Charles puts a price upon his head (G2). Girart and Berte flee to a forest, leading a hard, poor, bitter life (L,G2). At length they meet a hermit who strives to cure Girart of his wrath against Charles; Girart is obdurate, until Berte adds her pleading to the hermit's eloquence (G2). Girart then relents, consenting to forgo the use of arms and warhorse, as a penance for his misdeeds (G2).

After many wanderings, Girart earns his living as a coal-carrier in the forest, while Berte gains a small pittance as a seamstress (L,G2). After many years of such life (L,G2), they long to return to " la dulce France " (G2); disguised as pilgrims the finally reach Paris about Easter (L,G2). They are recognised by the Queen, who welcomes them lovingly (L,G2); and through her mediation some reconciliation is effected between Charles and Girart (G2);[1]

1. In L the reconciliation is complete—an artificially constructed passage, betraying the ecclesiastical partiality of the monk of Pothières, as Charles is induced to pardon Girart by the manifestation of Divine intervention on behalf of him.

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the latter being reinstated in Roussillon, with all his possessions restored (L,G2). Charles, however, is still jealous of Girart's wide possessions and great power (G2);[1] his barons are easily able to kindle him to renew warfare with Girart (L,G2). Girart, wiser after his exile and sufferings, makes some efforts for peace (G2); although several of his greatest barons wish for war (L,G2).[2] When these efforts fail, Girart fights Charles in several battles, and finally defeats him (L). In the last battle, Girart succeeds in driving Charles back to the very gates of Paris, where he takes refuge (L). While he is there preparing means to continue the struggle, mediators[3] urge him to make a lasting peace with Girart. Charles relents; he sends offers of peace to Girart, which the latter hastens to accept; and the long struggles are over (L). Girart and Berte live quietly and peacefully for the rest of their lives (D,L,G2); they have two children whom they outlive (D,L,G2).[4] They become the founders of the monasteries of Pothières and Vézelay; devoting themselves the more to works of piety when their children are taken from them at so young an age (L,G2).

The original "chanson" was then a feudal epic on the life and deeds of a Girart, who was no saint-hero as in L, but the far finer, far more realistic hero who has many striking faults, and who is cured of these by his experience of life, gained principally from the suffering he endures. The development of the legend from the original to the extant versions is then fairly clear. G1 probably kept fairly close to the slender historical tradition of Girart available when G1 was written;[5] in which Girart

1. The motive for the renewal of war in L, that devils rouse Charles against Girart, is evidently an ecclesiastical addition. Charles' fear of his vassal's great power corresponds with what is known of the nature of the wars in history, and is therefore probably the cause in G1. Beyond this detail, and one other (see note 3), the final section of G2, as has been shown (see pp. 42, 43), is entirely untrustworthy as evidence of the contents of G1.
2. The repeated embassies for peace sent by Girart to Charles in L are probably exaggerations of the position in G1.
3. The Pope fulfils this role in G2; a feature undoubtedly added by the "remanieur"; but in L the mention of an angel who forbids Charles to continue warfare is, equally probably, an addition. Probably the counsellors in G1 were some of Charles' chief barons.
4. Documentary evidence only mentions one of these children: a son Theodricum, who died before reaching the age of one; and was buried at Pothières. A fragment of this document is preserved at Chatillon-sur-Seine (See "Gerard de Roussillon", edited by Terrebasse, Lyon, 1856, p. XXXV.). The son of Girart is called Thierry in L. The other child is, in L, a daughter called Eva; in G2, a son murdered by Girart's baron, Gui de Risnel.
5. See however p. 43, note 4.

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is a bold warrior, determined to govern his lands well, and to defy the King, if need be, in so doing; but a warrior who suffers from the wars he partly provokes; and, ending his life in peaceful seclusion, gains a reputation for piety as the founder of important monasteries. The monk of Pothières who wrote the Latin Life, probably then seized upon the latter element in the life of the hero; he endeavoured to make Girart a hero yet more attractive to a pilgrim public, and more calculated to spread abroad among this public the renown and importance of the monastery of Pothières. The talented poet to whom is owing the rare beauty of the extant "chanson", doubtless rewrote the legend when the original was still accessible; probably following it fairly accurately in the epic body of his narrative, but, under new inspiration especially at the beginning and at the end, adding other material, of a different but more beautiful nature than the epic body of the legend.

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IV.

THE PROVENANCE OF THE PARALLELS.

It is now possible to examine, in the light of the reconstructed original poem of *Girart de Roussillon*, the features previously cited[1] as resembling elements in the *Tristan* poems. The study reveals that no parallels have been added by the author of L. These therefore may be divided into two kinds, those traceable to G1, and those added by the author of G2.

In the first class are placed the scenes of the life in the forest, and those at the hermit's cell. The forest scenes are preserved in L and in G2; with regard to the hermit scenes, the author of G2 has replaced in the legend the intentional omissions of the monk of Pothières.[2]. These two groups of scenes are therefore traceable to a " chanson de geste ", composed in North Burgundy, probably in the last years of the eleventh century, and at any rate, not later than the earliest years of the twelfth.

The passages added by the author of G2 comprise the scene where the ring is given to Girart as token of Elissent's love; and, in consequence, the scenes much later, where Girart is recognised by means of presenting the ring. Further, the whole spirit of extra-marital love, and the quadruple position of Girart, Elissent, Charles and Berte (resembling that of Tristan, Iseut, Mark and Iseut of the White Hands in the *Tristan* romance), and the tragic quality of the unlawful love as previously shown,[3] are additions in the extant " chanson de geste ". The ring-giving, the ring-recognition scenes and the love spirit are added by an author writing, in all probability, in the region of Limousin between 1155 and 1165.

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1. See pp. 4—15.
2. See pp. 44—46.
3. See pp. 4—15.

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V.

THE ORIGINAL *TRISTAN* POEM.

(1) Its Existence.

It is now necessary to ascertain, as far as possible, the earliest date at which the *Tristan* legend can have been in circulation in French literature, for purposes of examination in relation to the epic of *Girart de Roussillon*, and to its lost original version. In the quotation of the parallel passages between the two legends,[1] use has been made of the earliest texts of the *Tristan* legend in France. All students of the legend are, however, agreed that these five texts,[2] the poem of Thomas,[3] the poem of Béroul,[4] the two short poems of *La Folie Tristan*,[5] the German poem of Eilhart von Oberge,[6] and the Prose Romance[7] (existing in no less than forty-seven different MSS.), do not represent the earliest written accounts of the legend. As any earlier texts that may have existed are completely lost, there has always remained considerable doubt as to what form these may have taken; and much study has been devoted to these, resulting in a considerable number of theories.

The history of scholarship with regard to the elucidation of the origins of French medieval romance has resembled that which has dealt with the development of Old French Epic literature. It was originally held that prior to the epics, as prior to the romances, there existed a large mass of legendary material, sustained mainly orally, but partly by short written poems in episodic form, each dealing with some event or few events in the legends. These were then gathered

1. See pp. 4—15.
2. All other versions are derivatives from one or more of these.
3. Denoted usually among critics by T.
4. Denoted by B.
5. Denoted by F.
6. Denoted by O.
7. Denoted by R.

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together and welded into long, complete poems by subsequent poets. The *Tristan* legend, for example, was represented by a number of short poems in lyric form, known as lays, written rather for singing or for recitation than for reading, each dealing with one or more episodes in the legend; and these lays were widely scattered over France from the early years of the twelfth century onwards.[1] This theory was supported by a considerable number of references in French medieval literature to lays on episodes of the *Tristan* story, and by the still larger number of references to the popularity and frequency of minstrels whose repertoire consisted largely of such lays.[2] Moreover, the earliest extant poem on the *Tristan* story is probably Marie de France's *Chievrefoil,* which in all likelihood was written between 1165 and 1180; and this is a short lyric lay. Sudre, for example, writing of the references to lays about the *Tristan* story, says :[3] " Tous ces passages . . . . ne nous prouvent-ils pas que le lai (i.e., Chievrefoil) . . . . . faisait partie d'un groupe de morceaux analogues à lui, non par le fond qui variait de l'un à l'autre, mais par leur forme brève et musicale, dont chacun chantait un épisode distinct de la légende de Tristan? Cette dernière aurait donc été à l'origine morcelée et fragmentée avant d'être groupée en un tout par Béroul, Thomas, et Chrétien de Troyes ". Novati[4] also held that the poem of Béroul was a combination of several lays or short recitations. This theory of short episodic poems as sources of the extant versions has been displaced largely owing to the work of the great critic[5] who has disposed of a similar theory about the origins of the epics. Gaston Paris had suggested, in 1886,[6] that the extant poems might go back to one poem, now lost, which he held to be probably an English work. Unsupported by any evidence, his idea was not of great value, save as a hint for later critics. It remained for Bédier[5] to use the extant texts themselves to urge that

1. G. Paris, " Poèmes et Légendes du moyen âge ", pp. 366 seqq.
2. See L. Sudre, " Les allusions à la légende de Tristan dans la littérature du moyen âge ", Romania, XV. (1886), pp. 534—557; and Ezio Levi, " I lais e la leggenda di Tristano ", Studj Romanzi, XIV. (1917), pp. 113—246.
3. Sudre, op.cit., p. 555.
4. F. Novati, " Un nuovo ed un vecchio frammento del 'Tristran' di Tommaso ", Studj di filologia romanza, II. (1887), p. 369 seqq.
5. J. Bédier, " Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas ", tome II., Introduction, (1905).
6. G. Paris, " Note sur les romans relatifs à Tristan ", Romania, XV. (1886), pp. 597—602.

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they are all derived from one original lost poem, and that all their features are explained by this source. Bédier showed that the five extant versions which contain all the poetic tradition of the *Tristan* story, Béroul, Thomas, Eilhart, the *Folie Tristan,* and the Prose Romance, present a remarkable parallelism, in that, of a total of sixty episodes, forty occur in two or more of these versions.[1] Second, he revealed the extreme unity and harmony of the plot in all these versions. There is an orderly sequence of events, bent to a central, all-pervading theme. The strongest dramatic and literary unity prevails throughout the story. The exposition of the drama, the "pivot" scenes in which the tragic struggle of love and duty arises, the body in which this struggle is traced over a long period in a host of situations, are all subordinated to the conception of the conflict, and the admirable catastrophe. Third, Bédier showed how the episodes and situations were all subjected to the characters of the leading personæ, portrayed throughout with extreme clearness and constancy of characterisation. Fourth, he demonstrated that the story undoubtedly included a whole mass of episodes, for which sources have been found by scholars in the legendary matter of many countries; but that all these episodes nevertheless were subjected to the dramatic unity of the story, altered wherever necessary to be in accordance with the central conception of the romance. From these striking features Bédier asserted that the extant poems all go back to one poem of *Tristan,* now lost, which he called the Archetype or X. It is important to bear in mind clearly what he meant by the Archetype, as later scholars occasionally have confused his meaning. The Archetype was one single poem, the source of all the known versions, and the first to narrate the legend as a literary and dramatic unity, where the whole account is controlled and harmonised by the central, dominant conception of the work,—as distinct from poems, which whatever their length, only deal with one or more episodes of the legend, without embodying the unifying theme—the lifelong conflict of tragic, unlawful love with the force of social duty. The Archetype is the first united version of the legend as an organic whole.

1. In addition he showed that all the many allusions to the legend in literature, all the many indications of the legend in the fine arts, refer to one or more of these forty episodes.

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The force of Bédier's theory has been greatly increased by the fact that at the same time a German critic, by a study of the legend completely independent of that of Bédier, had arrived at the same conclusion. Golther's work[1] was published two years after that of Bédier, but his study was completed before the publication of the work of the French scholar. Golther's conclusion is also derived from a study of the nature of the extant versions, and the general similarity of two simultaneous but independent opinions is significant. The theory arrived at by these two scholars has been accepted by very many students, and has been reiterated recently by E. Faral in the latest history of French literature.[2] Bruce, indeed, in his comprehensive survey of the study of Arthurian romance, states that the existence of an Archetype may now be regarded as certain; and that the duty of students is now to study its sources and its contents.[3]

This theory has discredited the view tracing the extant versions to a mass of episodic matter. But the hypothesis of a single poem, source of all the extant versions, and the first united version of the legend, has received, up to the present day, considerable criticism. It was attacked in 1910 and 1911 by two scholars working independently, and their attack was directed particularly against the central point of Bédier's research. Kelemina[4] went the further of the two. Denying the existence of an Archetype at all, he held that the extant texts may derive from several complete versions before them. The only extant versions having any relation between each other are, for him, Béroul and Eilhart, which, he held, go back to a common sub-source Y or "estoire", of which O is a fairly faithful translation, while B is a "remaniement" of Y, executed with considerable alterations and additions. Miss Schoepperle[5] has shown that this is destructive criticism, and that Kelemina's methods of constructive work are extremely fallacious. Zenker's

1. Wolfgang Golther, "Tristan und Isolde", Leipzig, 1907.
2. "Histoire Illustrée de la Langue et de la Littérature française", publiée par J. Bédier et Paul Hazard. 1924. Tome I. Le Moyen Age. pp. 21, 22.
3. J. D. Bruce, "The Evolution of Arthurian Romance", 2 vols. Baltimore, 1923. Vol. I., p. 171 seqq.
4. "Untersuchungen zur Tristansage", von J. Kelemina. Teutonia, Heft XVI., Leipzig, 1910.
5. Review of Kelemina's work by G. Schoepperle. Romania, XL. (1911), pp. 114—119.

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work[1] is more valuable on the question of the Archetype than Kelemina's extreme view. For Zenker the French original version is very different from Bédier's reconstruction of it; for him as for Kelemina the oldest French version is not an Archetype. Zenker held that there were two "estoires", two complete French versions prior to the existing accounts: represented respectively by the old fragments of the Prose Romance and by the other primary extant texts. His criticism of Bédier's inconsistency in accepting the Béroul-Eilhart version for the return from the forest, and yet rejecting a limited potion in X, is perhaps alone of great value. So far, criticism of Bédier's theory had only proved the necessity for revising his methods[2], but in 1913 criticism of his work came to the fore in the study of Miss Schoepperle.[3] She has often been held to have supported Bédier's theory in essentials, but her work is really a rejection of it. She traces all the extant versions save R to a common source, the "estoire" or Y; but, solely because she does not trace R to this source, her "estoire" is not an Archetype. Moreover, in her view, united, complete versions of the legend may have existed before the "estoire"; the "estoire" may not even be the first French version,[4] a theory somewhat necessary owing to the fact that, in her view, the "estoire" is posterior to some of the allusions to the legend in literature. "The *Tristan* romance is not the creation of one poet or of one day"[5]; this statement contains the clearest opposition to Bédier's central point. Finally, in 1923, a further work of Kelemina's,[6] in which he restates his views in the light of new discovery made on the subject since 1910, forms the latest attack on Bédier's theory, and carries the controversy up to the present day. Kelemina traces B and O back to a common sub-source Y, but this "estoire" is not the oldest version of the legend. For him, the importance of the Prose Romance, to which he devotes the greater part of his study, is to show that there must have been complete romances of *Tristan* before the "estoire". This, therefore, is not an

1. "Die Tristansage und das persisches Epos von Wîs und Ramin", von
2. G. Schoepperle, in Romania, XL., 1911.
3. G. Schoepperle, "Tristan and Isolt, a Study of the Sources of the Romance", 2 vols., New York and London, 1913.
4. Schoepperle, op.cit., vol. I., p. 82.
5. Ibid, vol. I., p. 115.
6. J. Kelemina, "Geschichte der Tristansage", Vienna, 1923.

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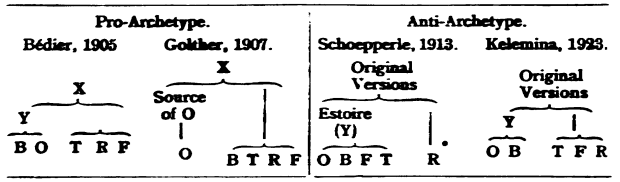
Archetype, in Bédier's sense. A table will, perhaps, show the position of the theories on both sides :—



There are several weak points in the theories attacking the Archetype. Miss Schoepperle, with striking inconsistency, seems to have thought that she was defending it. She states that her "estoire" was an Archetype, and then makes a further distinction that the "estoire" is not the oldest united version. She has hardly realised, therefore, what Bédier meant by the Archetype. Kelemina's idea avoids this inconsistency, but he has hardly any material to support his view. Both trace R to another source than the "estoire", chiefly because of the differences between R and the *Tristan* poems in several important incidents. These differences however, hardly necessitate the supposition of a separate source for R; the explanation of their existence is to be found rather in the author of R than in his source.[1] Bédier has shown that every mention of *Tristan* in literature and art is traceable to some forty episodes found in the same sequence in two or more of the primary extant versions. There is, therefore, no evidence at all to warrant the assumption of more than one original version. Bédier's work, which has shown the provenance of B, O, F, T, R from a single source, only requires the supplement of determining that each of these versions is independent, and is derived directly from this source.

(2) Its Date.

On the question of the date of composition of this poem, which the explanation of the extant versions seems to necessitate, there have been two main schools of thought. One would place it in the first half of the

1. E. Vinaver, "Etudes sur le Tristan en prose", 1925, pp. 11—20. E

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twelfth century, the other in the second half. It is misleading to call these respectively the French and the German schools.[1] The former school was represented by G. Paris[2], Bédier[3] and Golther;[4] and indirectly by Appel,[5] Deister[6] and Loomis.[7] The latter includes Schoepperle,[8] Bruce[9] and Kelemina.[10]

In the first school, G. Paris had first pointed out[11] that a pun in the *Cligès* (1170) of Crestien de Troyes was probably derived from Thomas. In the scene of the philtre in Thomas' version, Iseut declares to Tristan that her suffering comes from love (l'amer). Tristan feigns to misunderstand her, and a play on words forthwith ensues on the two other interpretations of "l'amer", the sea and bitterness. This pun occurs in Crestien's *Cligès;* and, as it is closely woven into the story in Thomas, having a purpose outside itself, while it occurs as mere punning in *Cligès,* Paris held that Crestien copied it from Thomas. The version of Thomas would then be prior to 1170, and X, therefore, earlier still.

Bédier accepted this. He took as his "terminus a quo" for X, an allusion to *Tristan* in a lyric of Bernart de Ventadour, which runs:—

> "Plus trac pena d'amor
> de Tristan l'amador
> que 'n sobri mahnta dolor
> per Izeut la blonda".[12]

A later passage in the same poem furnishes for Bédier the clue to the date of the poem. Bernart grieves for his lady's absence:—

> "mo cor ai pres d'amor
> que l'esperitz lai cor,
> mas lo cors es sai, alhor
> lonh de leis, en Fransa".[13]

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1. J. L. Deister, "Bernart de Ventadour's reference to the Tristan Story", Modern Philology, 1922, pp. 287—296.
2. G. Paris, op.cit., in Romania, XV., 1886, pp. 597—602.
3. Thomas' "Tristan", tome II.
4. Op.cit.
5. C. Appel, "Tristan bei Cercamon?", Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie XLI., 1919, pp. 219—228.
6. Deister, op.cit.
7. R. S. Loomis, "Bleheris and the Tristan Story," in Modern Language Notes, XXXIX., pp. 319 seqq, 1924.
8. Schoepperle, op.cit., Vol. I., 1913.
9. Bruce, op.cit.
10. Kelemina, op.cit., 1910 and 1923.
11. G. Paris in "Journal des Savants", 1902, pp. 354—355.
12. C. Appel, "Bernart von Ventadorn, Seine Lieder", 1915, No. 44.
13. Ibid, p. 258.

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The meaning here was interpreted by Bédier as follows. The poet is lamenting that he can follow his lady only in spirit, while his body has to remain in France. Bédier held that the lady was Eleanor of Poitou, whom Bernart loved, and who departed from France for England in 1154, on the accession of her husband as Henry II. of England. Bernart, who had been in attendance at her Normandy court, had now to remain in France; and he laments in this passage that he cannot follow Eleanor. Since an allusion to the *Tristan* legend is found about 1154, according to Bédier and others, the Archetype must have been prior to that date.

The placing of this hypothetical version in the first half of the twelfth century was not wholly due to this mere allusion. It was largely founded on the spirit and nature of the original as reconstructed from the extant versions. Bédier considered that X must have been prior to the great development of the ideals and theories of "courtoisie" in literature, which spread from the literature of the Midi into that of France early in the twelfth century, but only gained great vogue in French literature from about 1170, largely because of the influence of Crestien de Troyes, who wrote from 1165—1175 at the Champagnois court. It was from the nature of the original poem that Bédier placed its "terminus a quo" so early. The wild, bleak ruggedness, the barbarism of the romance as represented by the version of B, made Bédier place X "vers 1120 au plus tard",[1] holding that the brutality of manners brought it near in point of date to the "chansons de geste".

Already in 1887 Muret[2] had indicated another means of determining the date of the original poem. He held that one theme in *Tristan* is imitated from an Arthurian theme in the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The position of King Mark, with two nephews, Tristan and Andret, the former of whom is treacherous to Mark because he loves Mark's wife, Iseut, while the latter is treacherous to Tristan for Mark's sake, is identical with that of Arthur, Modred and Gauvain in Geoffrey's *Historia,* which was written in 1136. Golther took this up[3] to narrow the dating of the Archetype to between

1. Thomas' "Tristan", II., p. 155.
2. E. Muret, "Eilhart d'Oberg et sa source française" Romania, XVI., 1887, p. 322.
3. "Tristan und Isolde", 1907.

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1137 and 1154, holding it to have been composed probably between 1140 and 1150. He shows that France must have been acquainted with the character of Arthur; in the *Tristan* legend he is introduced directly without stating who he is, yet his court and knights do not play a central, leading part in the legend; they have not reached the position of importance in literature given them by Crestien. For this theory Golther uses B as the most faithful representative of X. Muret[1] however, had shown that what is almost beyond a doubt the oldest extant version, that of Thomas, might almost be called a "non-Arthurian" *Tristan* version, so slight is the part played by Arthur in the poem. In fact, Thomas made Mark King of all England, ruling a generation after Arthur, while in B and O Arthur and Mark are contemporaries. Nevertheless Arthur is twice mentioned in T, so Golther's theory is still admissible. Its importance lies largely in having revealed a great inconsistency in Bédier's theory. Bédier held that the Arthurian passages in B and O were in X and were suppressed in T, and yet placed X as "vers 1120 au plus tard".[2] As Lot has pointed out,[3] the former statement would mean placing X not only after Geoffrey of Monmouth (1136), but also after Wace (1155), whose work popularised still more on the Continent the Arthurian legend.

The critics placing the date of the original poem in the second half of the twelfth century, have in general, one great weakness. It is noteworthy that both Schoepperle and Kelemina place the date of the "estoire" as between 1150 and 1200, but admit older, complete versions. Of these they give not the slightest indication as to the date. This defect applies especially to Kelemina, whose dating of the "estoire" between 1150 and 1200 is perfectly possible, since it is only the source of B and O. For Miss Schoepperle, however, it is the source of all the primary extant versions, save the later and more corrupted Prose Romance, so that her dating of the "estoire," though it may not be the oldest complete version, is important for the dating of the chief extant accounts.

Miss Schoepperle rejected the "terminus a quo" of Bédier and Golther, furnished by the allusion in

1. Muret, article in Romania, op.cit.
2. Thomas' "Tristan", II., p. 155.
3. Review of Schoepperle's "Tristan and Isolt" by F. Lot; Romania, XLIII., 1914, pp. 126—135.

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Bernart de Ventadour's lyric.[1] The eight extant MSS. of the poem give different readings for the passage in which Bernart laments the absence of Eleanor; and on this account Miss Schoepperle urges that the uncertainty of the meaning of these verses renders the allusion valueless as evidence for dating the "estoire". She shows that it is neither known who the lady was to whom he addressed the poem, nor in what circumstances it was written.[2] She considers the allusions to the legend of *Tristan* to be of minor importance for dating the "estoire", and has therefore recourse to the extant versions. In these she rejects the placing of Thomas before 1170, pointing out that both Förster[3] and Wilmotte[4] urge that the pun in Thomas[5] was copied from that in Crestien. Since the evidence, Miss Schoepperle states, can be used with equal plausibility to draw entirely opposite conclusions, it is, for her, indecisive in fixing the date, and the "terminus ad quem" of Thomas has yet to be found.[6] She then turns to the "estoire" itself, and finds in it several elements which she classes as "courtois"[7]:—a "pastourelle" theme, a "mal mariée" theme, a "chanson à personnages" theme, and the second Iseut with Tristan's "romantic idealism"[8] in hesitating to consummate his marriage. Further, she considers that the roles of Arthur, Gauvain and Keu are stereotyped in the "estoire", which, it must be remembered, for her is chiefly represented by Eilhart. From these two qualities, she places the "estoire" between 1180 and 1190, after the period in which Crestien wrote, and just prior to the two extant versions, O and B, whose dates have been fairly accurately determined. Bruce[9] represents a more moderate view. He combats her date, but thinks the evidence of "courtois" elements brought forward by her proves the Archetype to be not earlier than the "romans d'antiquité", 1155—1165, followed rapidly by the version of Thomas.

Miss Schoepperle's dating of the "estoire" is combated by the strongest reasons. She places the "estoire"

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1. See p. 61—the second passage quoted.
2. Schoepperle, "Tristan and Isolt", vol. I., pp. 112—117.
3. W. Förster, Introduction to 1910 edition of "Cligès", pp. lxvi.—lxviii.
4. L'évolution du roman français aux environs de 1150" (1903), p. 67.
5. See p. 61.
6. Op.cit., vol. I., p. 179.
7. Ibid, I., pp. 120—179.
8. Ibid, vol. I., pp. 158—179, and pp. 524—528.
9. "Evolution of Arthurian Romance", I., Chap. V., note 1.

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as 1180—1190; but even if the pun in Thomas[1] was copied from Crestien, such a mere detail would hardly have been remembered and copied twenty years or so after *Cligès*. If the allusion in *Cligès* were to the "estoire", it would place the "estoire" soon after or just before 1170; but the allusion in *Cligès* is, in all probability, to a version later than the "estoire".[2] It has also been pointed out, with great probability, that Crestien was in all likelihood the copier of the pun.[3] This is held even by Bruce,[4] who is one of the school of critics placing X in the second half of the century. Moreover, the question of versification is totally neglected by Miss Schoepperle. The problem cannot fully be dealt with here; but whereas in Thomas, on the whole, the pauses in the sense correspond to the verse, and there is a marked stop at the end of each line, in Béroul the stop is often in the middle of a line, and "enjambement" is common. Crestien, who did so much for French verse, was undoubtedly the first to treat the heroic couplet with any such liberty as is found in Béroul;[5] and the absence of such liberty in Thomas clearly indicates the work of a Crestien between them. Thomas must have been therefore prior to Crestien. Bruce[6] would place T as 1165—1170, as he places X as about 1160—1165. Langlois[7] traced some indebtedness of Thomas to the *Roman d'Æneas*, 1160—1165, but this is uncertain; it adds, however, to the tendency to place Thomas, if before 1170, nearer 1170 than 1155, his recognised "terminus a quo."[8] It is also supported by Singer,[9] who traces in Thomas some indebtedness to the *Roman de Troie;* by the general characteristics of Thomas, the first flush of "courtoisie" in his work, before the great growth of it through Crestien's literary influence; and by the argument that if Thomas had written long before Crestien, the detail of his pun would not have been remembered

1. See p. 61.
2. Review of Schoepperle's "Tristan and Isolt" by F. Lot in Romania, XLIII., 1914, pp. 126—135.
3. See p. 61.
4. Op.cit., I., chap. V.
5. E. Muret, Introduction to edition of Béroul, pp. LXIV.—LXV. (Société des anciens Textes français), 1902.
6. Op.cit., I., chap. V.
7. E. Langlois, in Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 1905, p. 114, note 2.
8. Revealed by F. Lot (Romania, XXVII., 1898, p. 42), who showed that several lines which Gottfried de Strasbourg must have drawn from Thomas were copied from Wace's "Brut" (1155).
9. S. Singer, "Thomas' Tristan and Benoît de Saint-Maure", Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXIII., 1909 p. 729.

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and copied. So Thomas is in all probability about 1170, and the Archetype is prior to this date. This would agree with the allusions in Crestien and in Marie de France showing that they both knew the story of *Tristan*. Crestien, in his *Erec* (1165), speaks of having treated of the story in a work of his :—

"Del roi Marc et d'Iseut la Blonde" (*Erec*, v. 5),

probably from its title a short, episodic work,[1] while Marie de France deals with one episode of the story in her lyric lay *Chievrefoil*, probably written about 1165. To accord with this evidence, the Archetype could be placed, as Bruce[2] placed it, contemporaneous with the *Romans d'antiquité*, between 1160 and 1165.

Deister,[3] however, has recently urged that Miss Schoepperle's rejection of Bédier's and Golther's "terminus a quo", 1154, is unjust. He shows that Bernart's allusion[4] reveals Tristan already as a model of the unhappy lover; while Iseut already has her standard epithet "la Blonda". Concerning the evidence for the circumstances and date of the poem[5] which Miss Schoepperle considered uncertain, Deister showed that in the passage in question, six out of eight MSS. give a similar sense, namely, that Bernart is in France, writing to a lady far away whom he loves, and can follow in spirit but not in body. This lady, he holds, was in all probability Eleanor of Poitou. Bernart was a troubadour educated at the court of Ebles II., Count of Ventadour.[6] Bernart, however, loved the Viscountess, and she returned his passion. Her indiscretion leading to discovery, Bernart had to depart, and went to the neighbouring literary court of Eleanor of Poitou, which was in close relationship with the Limousin court. When Eleanor married Henry of Anjou in 1152, Bernart spent a year at her Normandy court, prior to her departure for England. Eleanor is known to have been a gay princess, a great patroness of poets and literature, fond of singing and of troubadours;[7] and it is further stated that she liked Bernart and his songs. His birth is held by the most recent authority

1. It must also have been one of the author's earliest productions.
2. Op.cit., vol. I., chap. V.
3. Op.cit., in Modern Philology, 1922, p. 287 seqq.
4. See p. 61.
5. See p. 61.
6. From the oldest authority for the Ventadours: the Chronicle of Geoffrey de Vigeois (Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, Tome XII., p. 424 seqq). Geoffrey's reliability is substantiated by other historians, and by Bernart's allusions in his poems.
7. She was a descendant of William VII., Count of Poitiers, a man of considerable literary attainment, known as "the first troubadour".

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to be between 1120 and 1130;[1] Eleanor was born about 1122. In 1154, therefore, both were in the prime of their life; Bernart was a good singer and fond of women, Eleanor was a gay lover of singers and poets. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, as was supposed until Miss Schoepperle questioned it, that the lyric was addressed to Eleanor. The only other candidate would be the Viscountess of Ventadour, and that would place the lyric, with its reference to *Tristan*, earlier still. The dating of this allusion to *Tristan* in 1154 is supported by another reference to the poem, less certain, in a poem of Cercamon. It occurs in a passage where a lover, grieving that he can only possess his beloved in spirit, because her body is given to another, laments that he has " lo cor Tristan ". Appel,[2] who indicated the allusion, places the poem between 1137 and 1146, and holds that it contains the earliest reference to the *Tristan* legend. The situation in *Tristan* and in Cercamon's passage is certainly similar, but the allusion is too slender to afford certain proof. However, coupled with that of Bernart, both from troubadour poets, writing in the same tongue, in the same region, and at the same period, the allusion shows that the *Tristan* story must have been known in Poitou and in Limousin at some time during the period of the careers of these poets, namely, between 1137 and 1160, while Bernart's allusion seems to date the " terminus a quo " for X as 1154.

Miss Schoepperle also bases her arguments for a late " estoire " on the stereotyped roles of Arthurian personages in it, and on the presence of several " courtois " elements, which reveal, to her, that it followed the work of Crestien. F. Lot[3] has shown that stereotyped roles of Arthur, Gauvain and Keu in the " estoire " do not necessarily indicate a late date of composition. These roles are only found in B and O, and it is because of Miss Schoepperle's blind acceptance of O as the best extant version of the " estoire " that she considers the role of Arthur to have been stereotyped in the " estoire ". It has been strongly urged that O is, in parts, a perverted

1. C. Appel, " Bernart de Ventadorn, Seine Lieder ". It may be added that Appel is here merely an editor of Bernart's works; he is not using Bernart's allusions to urge an early allusion to " Tristan ".
2. " Tristan bei Cercamon? " in Zeitschrift für rom. Phil. XLI., pp. 219—228.
3. Review of Schoepperle's " Tristan " in Romania, XLIII., 1914, pp. 126 seqq.

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account.[1] Moreover, already in 1887 Muret[2] had shown that B and O are distinguished from Thomas because the first two mingle the *Tristan* cycle and the Arthurian cycle (and more so in O than in B), while T distinguishes the Arthurian cycle from the *Tristan* legend. Arthur hardly comes in at all in T; he was King of England a generation before Mark, who was King in Thomas' narrative. As Thomas is the oldest extant version, it seems likely that the *Tristan* legend was originally non-Arthurian. Thomas, it has been pointed out,[3] writing at a period when the "matière de Bretagne" was beginning to come into vogue on the Continent, would have had every inducement to include and develop the Arthurian element.[4] Here it seems that Bédier too was at fault in urging that the versions of B and O best represent the original (especially B), and that therefore the Arthurian material as in B was in X, and that Thomas suppressed it. The inconsistency of this with his dating of X has already been shown.[5] At any rate, Miss Schoepperle's acceptance of a considerable role played by Arthur in the "estoire" is derived from her immoderate and not entirely warrantable acceptance of O as the best version. The large role of Arthur in O only proves a late date for O, on which there has been general agreement.

Concerning the "courtois" elements in the "estoire", Lot[6] has shown that Miss Schoepperle classes together a host of different elements as "courtois", and that she has but a faint notion of what that term means. Moreover, Iseut's repentance, which she held to be a "chanson à personnages" theme, is only in O, which is certainly hardly the faithful reproduction of the original Miss Schoepperle considers it to be. The other elements may suggest "courtois" themes, but suggest much else as well; for example, the resistance of a

1. See the psychology of the second Iseut in O, and her means of causing Tristan's death. Also note how Eilhart often alters the spirit of the legend in accordance with the spirit of the German national epic; see Muret in Romania, XVI., 1887, p. 288 seqq.
2. Ibid.
3. Lot, article cit. in Romania, 1914.
4. The absence of Arthur as a real role in T is another indication that he wrote before Crestien's literary influence, which popularised Arthurian literature. Writing after Crestien, T would hardly have omitted Arthur, as his "courtoisie" clearly shows that he was striving to keep his work up to the latest fashion in literary development.
5. See p. 63.
6. Article cit. in Romania, 1914.

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maid to a lover is not only a twelfth century theme.[1] In other cases Lot has shown that the situations in *Tristan* differ from those in the "courtois" themes she would urge as parallels.

These arguments show the extreme improbability, if not the impossibility, of dating the source of O, B, F and T, and of the allusions in other works, as between 1180 and 1190; Miss Schoepperle herself, to justify it, had to have recourse to the inconsistency of postulating earlier, complete versions. As R is derived, according to her, from one or more of these, and as the allusions to the legend in literature before 1180 could be traceable to these, her work is of little value for determining the earliest date of the circulation of the legend in French literature.

Nevertheless, the "courtois" elements which she has revealed in the "estoire" are not without significance. Most scholars have regarded some of them at least as traceable to X, as they are in all the extant versions; and have agreed that X must have contained, at any rate, some touches of the "courtois" spirit, if not modified, at least without its later elaboration and refinement as found in the literary work of Crestien de Troyes. Crestien was clearly the first to develop the full, refined "courtoisie," and to popularise it in French literature, for his earlier works only have it in part, showing that his effort to introduce it did not succeed fully at first. This elaborate, complex literary ideal cannot have appeared suddenly in Crestien; its full bloom there presupposes a simpler, minor form of it before him. Is not this form precisely what the "courtois" elements in X represent? Miss Schoepperle's arguments only reveal in the "estoire" what Bédier[2] had called "des traits analogues de sentimentalité courtoise". "Sans ces *linéaments de courtoisie*" he adds, "qui pourrait rien comprendre à l'apparition soudaine des poèmes de Crestien de Troyes?" Moreover, the nature of "courtois" love itself has some resemblance to that passion in the *Tristan* legend. "Amour courtois" is based on an extra-marital passion, regulated by an elaborate complexity of duties and niceties, and setting aside the bond of marriage. In *Tristan*, the woman has not the entire superiority over

1. "Et puis Mlle. Schoepperle s'imagine-t-elle que les femmes ont attendu la fin du XIIe siècle pour se moquer des amoureux transis?" Lot, article cit, in Romania, 1914, p. 128.
2. Thomas' "Tristan", II., p. 135.

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the lover as in "amour courtois"; and the lovers feel very strongly the force of the marriage law and social bonds against them; but the passion is, like "amour courtois", extra-marital, illegal; it therefore seems a natural predecessor of the literary ideal of "courtoisie" as expressed in Crestien de Troyes.

It is known that the "courtois" spirit grew up first in the Midi, and then gradually spread over France. The elements classified as "courtois," and traced to the "estoire" by Miss Schoepperle might be explained, even in a work composed in the first half of the twelfth century, in a region in which traces of the "courtois" spirit could be found at this early date. Since "courtoisie" first developed in Provençal, its first presence in French literature would naturally be in the border lands between Langued'oc and Langued'oïl. There was a region where the Langued'oïl was written, and which, being on the border of the two languages, had received the "courtois" spirit, and had developed a "courtois" literature early in the twelfth century; a region doubly significant because there are found there, among the troubadours, the allusions to the *Tristan* story, held to be the earliest. This was the South-West region of France, embracing the literary courts of Limousin and Poitou. William VII., the grandfather of Eleanor of Poitou, wrote several poems, in which "there is presented at this early date the striking feature of the whole substance of the theory of courtly love without any of its subsequent features".[1] His poetry is of a literary merit which reveals that he himself cannot have created this spirit, but must have received it already in a highly developed state. William was the precursor of a large body of troubadours, including the poets who were apparently the first to allude to the *Tristan* story. If the source of the extant *Tristan* poems had been written in this region, the features of "courtoisie", which have been traced to this source, would not necessitate dating it in the second half of the twelfth century.

The question of the region of composition of the Archetype is bound up with the problem of its authorship. G. Paris[2] first maintained that the author was one "Breri", relater of all the "matière de Bretagne", whom

1. J. Anglade, "La Littérature méridionale au moyen âge", 1921.
2. Romania, VIII., pp. 425—428, 1879.

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Thomas invokes, apparently when referring to his source.[1] Paris identified " Breri " with the Welsh bard " famosus ille fabulator Bledhericus ", mentioned by Giraut de Barri,[2] who vaunts the number and skill of Gallic bards as depositaries of legend and tradition. Giraut de Barri considered he died just before 1150, which would suit Thomas' reference to him as " Ky solt les gestes ".[3] Paris therefore holds that Thomas is here referring to the author of a *Tristan* romance, whose reliability Thomas accepts against several unauthentic accounts. Others[4] have opposed this view, seeing only in Thomas' allusion an attempt to give greater renown to his account by invoking as his authority some famous name associated with the narration of legends from " Bretagne ". Loomis[5] recently has defended Paris. Besides Thomas' mention of Breri, he shows that the name exists as " Bleobleheris " in several MSS. of Pseudo-Wauchier's continuation of Crestien's *Perceval* (in one MS. as " Bleheris ") ; the same name occurs, beside that of Tristan, in Crestien's *Erec* (vv. 1713—1714) :

" Et Tristanz qui onques ne rist
Delez Bliobleheris sist ".

A late prologue to Crestien's *Perceval* has a knight Blihos-Bliheris, possessing a quality rare in medieval knights :—

" Mais si tres bons contes savoit
Que nus ne se peust lasser
De ses paroles escouter ".

Eilhart, following a method found elsewhere in him, calls a character Pleherin, easily derived from Bleheris.[6] Loomis holds that these independent references can only be explained by attributing the authorship of X to Bleheris. For Loomis, he is undoubtedly the Welsh " Bledhericus," and this explains the many Celtic names and episodes in the legend. Loomis is also able to discover evidence of Continental activities on the part of

1. Thomas " Tristan," ed. Bédier, I., p. 377, vv. 2107—2123.
2. " Descriptio Kambriae ", ed. Dimmock, VI., p. 202.
3. Thomas' " Tristan ", ed. Bédier, p. 377, v. 2121. Bledhericus would give " Bleri " in French; and the change of " l " to " r " is frequent in phonetics.
4. F. Novati, op.cit., 1887; W. Röttiger, " Der heutige Stand der Tristanforschung ", 1897 ;G. Schoepperle op.cit. vol. I., 1913; J. Kelemina, op.cit., 1923.
5. R. S. Loomis, " Bleheris and the Tristan Story ", Modern Language Notes, XXXIX., pp. 319 seqq, 1924.
6. He makes a place-name associated with the legend, Dinas Lidan, into a character Tinas de Lidan; so it is likely here that he gives the name of a supposed narrator of the legend to a character in his version of the legend.

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this bard. He shows that all non-Welsh evidence of the *Tristan* story points to the court of Eleanor of Poitou. His evidence is ample. Thomas wrote under the patronage of a member of the Royal House of Poitou; Marie de France dedicated her "Lais" to a Henry, probably the Young King Henry,[1] son of Eleanor and Henry II. of England; Eilhart wrote a German version at the request of Matilda of Saxony, daughter of Eleanor and Louis VII. of France; Crestien[2] wrote under the patronage of another daughter of Eleanor, Marie de Champagne; Bernart de Ventadour, with important references to the legend in his poems, loved Eleanor herself; Cercamon also wrote poems for her; both of them were troubadours at the Poitou Court, dedicating poems of celebration to the successes of the Court, or poems of lament for Royal deaths. Entirely independent evidence illustrates this connection. Wauchier de Denain, entirely unconnected with the Court of Poitou, and therefore unlikely to invent the following, says :—[3]

"Deviser vos voel sa faiture
Si con le conte Bleheris
Qui fu nes e engenuis
En Gales dont je cont le conte
Et qui si le contoit au conte
De Poitiers qui amoit l'estoire
Et en tenoit en grant memoire
Plus que nul autre ne faisoit".

This Count of Poitiers is identified[4] with William VIII., who reigned from 1127 to 1137, the son of William VII. "the first troubadour", and the father of Eleanor. William VIII. is doubtless the Count referred to, as Cercamon and Marcabrun, who wrote poems about William VIII., both have references to *Tristan*. There seems little doubt therefore that Poitou had an intimate connection with the *Tristan* legend, and played a considerable part in its development.

Levi[5] has shown the close link between French lays and the *Tristan* legend. Marie de France[6] shows that she must have read an entire written account. A host of lays spread over France in the twelfth century; several

1. E. Levi, op.cit., 1917.
2. Who alludes to a composition of his own on "Tristan"; and whose works are full of references to the story, and abound in reminiscences of it.
3. Describing a dwarf, in his continuation of Crestien's "Perceval".
4. By Loomis (op.cit.); also by Miss Weston.
5. Op.cit, 1917.
6. See her introduction to "Chievrefoil".

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of them on episodes of the *Tristan* legend, many more on kindred episodes, and more still containing allusions to *Tristan*. Their centre of radiation was the Court of Poitou, whence they spread almost more into Provençal than into French literature. A host of Provençal troubadours related these lay themes, of which one, at least, is mentioned as a great favourite of Beatrice di Dia, wife of William VIII. of Poitiers.[1] As these lays are almost all on Celtic themes, Arthurian, or non-Arthurian, they show that Poitou must have been the French hub of the "matière de Bretagne". Levi[2] had already urged that the link between the lays and the legends was that the former were lyric offshoots from a centre where a wealth of Celtic legendary material had beten related. According to Levi, the narrator of this material was probably Bleheris, visiting the Poitevin Court between 1127 and 1137, and relating a host of Celtic legends and traditions. Beatrice di Dia, wife of the Count of Poitiers then ruling, is known to have made two beautiful verses out of the refrain of a *Tristan* lay, and to have loved the lays; while one "trouvère" of this Court, Raimbaut d'Aurenga, was nicknamed Lignaure, which is also the name of a Breton lay. Provençal poetry also abounds in evidence of Breton and Gallic minstrels spreading over Provence;[3] one poet refers to their numbers as a veritable nuisance.[4] The same Wauchier de Denain who referred to Bleheris' visit, also adduces evidence of the Breton minstrels in Provence; and among the references to the repertoire of these poets are such significant allusions as:—

"L'uns viola ·l lais del Cabrefoil
e l'autre cel de Tintagoil",

the one mentioning the lay which Marie de France preserves, the other citing a well-known, traditional place-name in the *Tristan* legend.

One allusion among the troubadours is of special interest. Levi[5] noted among them one Cabra, whom Guiraut de Cabreira reproaches with not being skilled in singing and harping in the Breton manner, "a tempradura de Breton",[6] and holds that this Cabra is the "la

1. The names of these troubadours and their allusions are given at length by Levi, article cit., 1917.
2. Article cit., 1917.
3. Ibid.
4. Piere de la Mula.
5. Article cit., 1917.
6. Which also reveals that this manner must have attained great vogue among the troubadours and trouvères.

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Chièvre" referred to in the *Roman de Renart*[1] as author of a poem on *Tristan*. The *Renart*, moreover, does not contain the only allusion to La Chièvre as a *Tristan* poet. A "miracle" of the twelfth century, in an enumeration of notable twelfth century works, and of the chief twelfth century authors, adds:—

"Et li Kievres ki rimer valt
L'amour de Tristan et d'Isalt".

Levi holds that, as Cabra was a troubadour, his poem would have been a short *Tristan* lay, not a long romance. There has, however, been a widely-supported alternative identification of La Chièvre. Röttiger held that La Chièvre was the author of a complete *Tristan* romance, and wondered whether his poem might not have been Eilhart's source:—". . . und die Quelle Eilharts (La Chièvre?)"[2] Golther[3] mentioned the allusions to "La Chièvre", and discovered a minstrel "Robert de Reims", named "La Chièvre", of whom three "pastourelles", and some "courtois" "tençon" poems are extant. Golther supported Röttiger by considering La Chièvre's *Tristan* romance to have been either the Archetype or the source of O. Tregenza[4] quoted several parallel passages in Béroul and in the *Roman de Renart*, parts II. and Va, and urged that the *Renart* influenced Béroul, and that therefore the La Chièvre mentioned in the *Renart* was the author of a *Tristan* poem, the source of B and O, intermediate between X and the extant versions. The identification of him with "Robert de Reims" has also recently been accepted by Voretzsch.[5] Even if this identification be correct, however, it seems probable that La Chièvre's *Tristan* poem was a lay, not a complete version, as the extant works of "Robert de Reims" are all short lyric poems, "pastourelles" and "tençons". No allusion in literature seems

1. "Roman de Renart", part II.:—
"Seigneurs oï avez maint conte
Que maint conterre vous raconte
Conment Paris ravi Elaine
Le mal qu'il en ot et la paine,
De Tristan dont la Chievre fist".
The specific mention of Tristan, with Paris and Helen, alone among the mass of medieval stories, is certainly striking.
2. "Der heutige Stand der Tristanforschung", 1897, p. 36.
3. "Tristan und Isolde", 1907, p. 75.
4. W. A. Tregenza, "The Relation of the Oldest Part of the Roman de Renart to the Tristan Poems", Modern Language Review, 1924, pp. 301—305.
5. C. Voretzsch, "Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur", (Halle, 1925), pp. 285, 286.

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to warrant the assumption of a complete intermediate version between the Archetype and the extant versions; at any rate, Bédier's postulation of an intermediate version to explain the limited potion in O and B is unnecessary. There may well have been a limited potion in X; the contents of the extant poems seem to give evidence of their direct and independent provenance from one original source; and the common source of B and O was probably the source of all the versions, B and O being here more faithful "remanieurs" than T.

To return to the authorship and region of composition of the Archetype, this large amount of independent evidence, put together, gives the highest probability to the placing of the composition of X in the region of Poitou. That region has already been indicated[1] as one where a literary court flourished in the first half of the twelfth century,[2] where the Langued'oïl and the Langued'oc were both spoken and written, and also where "courtois" ideals, well developed, had been expressed in literature before 1127.[3] Anglade[4] has shown this region to have been one of high literary activity from the end of the eleventh century; with literary forms and conventions, artistic traditions, poetic rules already existing; and a language, in William VII.'s work, already an excellent medium of expression, developed so as to be capable of the portrayal of the finest shades of meaning. To this evidence can be added that collected by Loomis,[5] all tending to reveal that Poitou was the French home of the *Tristan* legend. Loomis, however, went further, and traced the growth of the *Tristan* legend in France to one visit by Bleheris to the Court of Poitou, whither he is supposed by Loomis to have transported the *Tristan* legend "en bloc" from Celtic countries, where it would have grown up before reaching France. That a legend could have taken root in France, acquiring widespread popularity, could have become expressed in French forms and in a French "milieu", and have been a theme for several successive French literary conceptions, merely from

1. See p. 70.
2. Those of Central and North France (e.g., Champagne) were not at their zenith until the middle of the century or later.
3. The date of the death of "the first troubadour", William VII., Count of Poitiers.
4. J. Anglade, "Les Troubadours" (1908).
5. See pp. 71, 72.

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its narration by some bard during one visit seems impossible. The problem of Bleheris has always been a vexed one, and Brugger has recently increased the controversy[1] by distinguishing a Welsh and a continental "Bleheris". In face of this hair-splitting, Lot[2] is fully justified in regarding the whole question as a chimaera. Even if the points of contention were satisfactorily resolved, it would throw little light on the date and composition of the Archetype since satisfactory evidence already points to the South-West region of France as the hub of the *Tristan* legend on the Continent.

This determination of the period and region of composition of the Archetype would also explain the historical facts in connection with the development of the legend. R. S. Loomis[3] has collected a considerable amount of evidence of relics of the *Tristan* story in the fine arts, all tending to show a great connection between the *Tristan* legend and the Angevin Royal House. The Norse Saga describes Tristan's heraldic charge as gold lions emblazoned on a red field. The description is too brief to be a compliment to the author's patron, Haakon VII. of Norway, in giving Tristan the Norwegian arms; it seems to be a passage condensed from the French source of the Saga, Thomas. Loomis shows that the charge of Henry II. of England, 1154—1189, was probably gold lions on a blue or red field; that of Richard I., 1189—1199, was almost certainly two gold lions on a red field; Thomas was doubtless paying a compliment to an Angevin King, at whose court he was writing, in giving Tristan the Angevin arms. Moreover, the *Tristan* theme furnishes several of the episodes on the famous tile paving in Chertsey Abbey, a work undertaken at the instigation of Henry III. (1216—1272), during his closing years. Here Tristan's shield is one lion rampant, in spite of the fact that when the tiles were made the English charge was three lions passant; the more striking evidence that the makers of the tiles were upholding a traditional charge of Tristan, that of the Angevins in the latter half of the twelfth century, given

1. E. Brugger, "Der Dichter Bledri-Bleheri", Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur, XLVII., 1924, pp. 162—185.
2. F. Lot. "Encore Bleheri-Breri," Romania, LI., 1925, pp. 397—408.
3. "Vestiges of Tristan gathered at London, and their value", Burlington Magazine, August 1922; "Tristan and the House of Anjou", Modern Language Review, 1922, pp. 24—30.

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to the hero by Thomas. In addition, the Patent Rolls of King John (1207) mention "duos enses, scilicet Tristrami et alium ensem . . ."; this sword is mentioned, with greater significance, as "Curtein", meaning "shortened", at the Coronation of Henry III.'s Queen, Eleanor of Provence, in 1236; and an illustration of the Crown Regalia reveals this sword with a jagged, splintered end, the very characteristic of Tristan's sword, with the "brèche" left in the Morholt's skull. In this illustration the sword has a particular kind of guard; one of the Chertsey tiles, depicting the Morholt battle, shows Tristan with a sword-guard of the identical pattern. There is double evidence of the Angevin interest in *Tristan* through the thirteenth century, corroborated by Rusticien de Pise's statement[1] that his prose version of *Tristan* was translated from the book of Edward, King of England, at the time of his departure for the crusade; showing Angevin preservation of the legend, and interest in its development, as late as Edward I. (1272—1299). Also it seems probable that the Norse Saga, written by Brother Robert in 1226, was due to the Angevin interest in the legend. Historians (Loomis shows[2]) have revealed the close social links between Haakon VII. and Henry III. A remarkable array of facts bears witness to much friendly intercourse between the two; Haakon copied many features of the English court, even modelling his palace at Bergen on Westminster. As the Saga preserves the Angevin charge given to Tristan in Thomas, it is highly probable that Haakon, on his marriage in 1226, ordered a translation of a favourite romance of the Angevin Court, which would explain why the Saga, although condensed, is so exact a translation of Thomas. Eilhart's poem, and a wall-hanging embroidery from Thuringia, representing twelve important scenes of the legend, testify to the legend reaching the Saxony Court through an Angevin marriage; two Sicilian bedcoverlets, embroidered with fourteen scenes of the legend, show the legend in Sicily; while more evidence bears witness to the deep rooting of the Arthurian matter there, transported by Normans and Angevins, such as Coeur de Lion, who made a present to Tancred of Sicily of "gladium optimum arcturi, nobilis quondam regis

1. E. Löseth, "Le Roman en prose de Tristan", 1891, p. 423.
2. "Tristan and the House of Anjou", Mod. Lang. Review, 1922, pp. 29—30.

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Britonum, quem Britones vocaverunt Caliburnum"[1] The literary works on the *Tristan* legend and its relics among the fine arts seem to go hand in hand; both are bound up with the growth and development of the Angevin Empire.

It is likely, then, that very much is owing, for the development of the *Tristan* story from Poitou, to the career of a lady, apparently extremely important in literature, Eleanor of Poitou. The lady whom Bernart de Ventadour loved, to whom so many of the troubadours dedicated their works, was indirectly responsible, through her Court and her descendants, for circulating the *Tristan* legend in four countries. Married first to Louis VII. of France, she had borne him a daughter Mary, who was married in 1152 to Henry, Count of Champagne; and there, around Mary, sprang up a famous literary Court. Through this Court the legend would have become known to Crestien de Troyes, who contributed so largely to the Court's renown.[2] In 1152, too, occurred the divorce of Eleanor from Louis, and her marriage to Henry, Count of Anjou, who had inherited Normandy in 1150. The legend could thus have spread over all Angevin France; hence the "Chievrefoil" (1165—1168) of Marie de France, and the poem of Béroul (circa 1190). In 1154 Henry of Anjou became King of England. The same event which separated Eleanor and Bernart, occasioning the latter's lament, in which he compares himself to Tristan, in the earliest allusion to the legend, was instrumental in spreading the legend in England. To this is doubtless due the Anglo-Norman and English "Tristan" literature, including one of the five primary texts, that of Thomas, and later "Sir Tristrem". Two years after this accession Eleanor's daughter Matilda was born; in 1168 she married Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony; and brought the legend to the knowledge of Eilhart, who probably wrote his work at her request. The presence of the story in Provence is a direct development from Poitou, which was a bilingual court, where Provençal troubadours

1. For complete evidence see Loomis' article in Burlington Magazine, 1922. Warren's article on "Tristan on the Continent before 1066" (Mod. Lang. Notes, 1909, pp. 37—38) deals with the name of a Norman leader, Tristayn or Trostayn, in Sicily from 1022. The name, however, is not connected with any legend, it may not even have been obtained from the Celtic "Tristan" traditions, but have been a corruption of the common Norman name Turstin (see Bruce, op.cit., I., chap. V., note 35).
2. Through this Court the legend might also have become known to La Chièvre, if the identification of him with "Robert de Reims" is valid.

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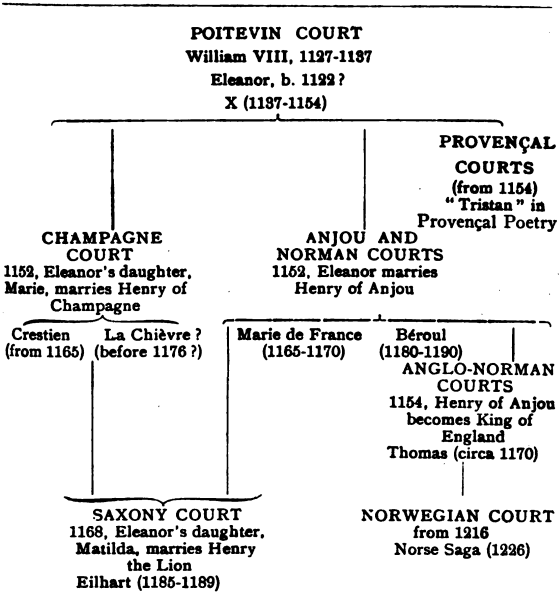
were found in large numbers. Almost all the versions of the legend are due to the conquests and marriages of the Angevins, spreading it from its French cradle, the Court of Poitou, where the original version was written some time between 1137 and 1154. There is no extant fragment of the legend, no allusion to it in literature, no evidence of it in the fine arts, whose date and character furnish opposition to this conclusion as to the Archetype.

TABLE OF CONNECTIONS OF "TRISTAN" LEGEND, WITH GROWTH OF ANGEVIN EMPIRE.



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VI.

G1 AS A SOURCE OF THE ORIGINAL *TRISTAN* POEM.

The dates of G1, G2 and X have now been determined as far as possible in the present state of knowledge. But if a study of these poems can only place each within a certain period of time, there is little doubt as to the order of their appearance. The original epic of the Burgundian hero, placed, at the latest, at the very beginning of the twelfth century, necessarily precedes the original French romance on the *Tristan* legend. The extant "chanson de geste" of Girart, belonging by its versification to the latter half of the twelfth century, and placed by other evidence between 1155 and 1165, is posterior to the Archetype, as it follows the first group of allusions to the *Tristan* legend in France, between 1150 and 1160, of which one is with extreme probability to be assigned to the year 1154. The earliest extant versions of the *Tristan* legend are subsequent to G2; that of Thomas not coming until about 1170, just before the advent of Crestien's literary influence; while Marie de France's *Chievrefoil*, and Crestien's hypothetical *Tristan* poem can only have been just previous to Thomas, if at all; Béroul, Eilhart and the *Folie Tristan* poems are later.

It has already been indicated[1] that Bédier[2] held the original epic of *Girart de Roussillon* to be probably a prototype of the hermit scenes which occur in the forest life in the *Tristan* legend. Bédier's assumption, however, is made without reasons assigned, and it is impossible to accept it without examination as to whether the author of the Archetype could have been indebted for these scenes to the lost "chanson de geste".

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1. See p. 13.
2. Thomas' "Tristan", II., p. 263, note 1.

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The original Girart epic was written in all likelihood in North Burgundy, about the close of the eleventh century. The Archetype has been traced to the literary Court of Poitou, at least about forty years later. The difference of time is comparatively small, but there is between the two a considerable difference of place. Nevertheless the distance between Vézelay and Poitiers did not constitute a barrier between intercourse. A study of the geographical position of Vézelay, and of the history and development of the legend of *Girart de Roussillon* indicates the reverse of this. Vézelay was important as the cross-roads of two great pilgrim routes, of which one led to South-West France and Spain through Limousin and Poitou. There must have been a constant stream of intercourse along this highway. Moreover, the legend of *Girart de Roussillon* was found in this region of France just after the middle of the twelfth century, as G2 was in all probability composed at the Limousin Court, closely related to that of Poitou. There is a further indication that the legend was well-known at the South-West literary Courts. Mahn[1] has shown a number of allusions to *Girart de Roussillon* among Provençal poets. The legend, indeed, might have spread southwards from Burgundy into Provençal literature. But the troubadours who allude to Girart are precisely those whose works are full of references to the *Tristan* legend, and to other legends of the "matière de Bretagne", and who became familiar with this "matière" through communication with the South-West literary Courts[2]:—Guiraut de Cabreira, Guiraut de Calançon, Piere Cardinal. These are the poets who reveal the amount and popularity of Breton lays and stories in Provence from the middle of the twelfth century, and who spread in Provençal literature these extraneous themes, drawn from the circulation of "matière de Bretagne" among the Courts of Limousin and Poitou, where Provençal poets met those of the Langued'oïl. It is significant that there are very many allusions both in French and in Provençal literature to *Girart de Roussillon* and to the *Tristan* legend; in both cases those in Provençal

1. C. A. F. Mahn. "Über die epische Poesie der Provenzalen". Introduction to C. Hofmann, "Girartz de Rossilho nach der Pariser Handschrift", 2nd ed., 1874, p. 4. The amount of allusion to the legend in Provençal poetry is such that Mahn here argues that the legend was of Provençal origin.
2. See Mahn, above; Levi, article cit. Studj Romanzi, 1917; Sudre, article cit. Romania, 1886, pp. 534—557.

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literature are almost more in number than those in Langued'oïl. Guiraut de Cabreira, who is cited by Levi[1] as reproaching his minstrel Cabra with not knowing how to harp "a tempradura de Breton", also reproaches him with knowing nothing of "Girart de Rossillon",[2] as if both should be equally familiar to a Provençal troubadour. This argues a kinship between the two legends too close to be a mere coincidence, and seems to indicate that *Girart de Roussillon* and the "matière de Bretagne" followed a similar course of distribution; that they both became popular in Provençal literature through the medium of the Courts of Limousin and Poitou, on the borders of Langued'oc and Langued'oïl, where intercourse was most possible.

It is probable therefore that the author of the Archetype could have drawn from G1 material for the episodes of the wild life in the forest, and the interview of the pair with the hermit at his cell. The indebtedness is the more likely as it was an universal practice in medieval literature, and as there is no doubt that the Archetype embodied material from the most widespread sources. To determine what significance this connection between G1 and X may possess, it is necessary to study the sources of X in general, and especially to examine what other sources have been attributed to the forest life and the hermit scenes in the story.

The problem of the origin of the body and nature of the *Tristan* legend has been reduced to one great point of contention: whether the great romance is Celtic or French.[3]. All scholars are agreed in ascribing to the Celts a certain basis of the legend; a study of the nomenclature has resulted in almost unanimity of opinion as to a Pictish, a Welsh, a Cornish and a Breton stage of the legend prior to its expression in French literature. Beyond this there is extreme opposition of opinion as to whether to ascribe to the Celts or to the French the spirit and nature of the legend, the great, central, unifying theme which alone gives the legend artistic and dramatic beauty. The difference of opinion may seem merely a difference of degree, inasmuch as the Celtic view ascribes the bulk of the work to the Celts and only some

1. Article cit. See also p. 73.
2. P. Meyer, "Girart de Roussillon", 1884, Introduction, pp. CIII.—CV.
3. Save for Zenker's valueless theory of a Persian origin in "Romanische Forschungen", XXIX. (1911), pp. 322—369.

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alterations and additions to the French; the other opinion crediting the French with the bulk of the romance, the Celts only with the contribution of names and of several isolated episodes. In reality the difference is a difference of nature—the two views are irreconcilable. All the material of the legend could be ascribed to the Celts, and yet the spirit and nature of the work be the product of a French mind; the *Tristan* romance, as indicated by the extant poems, was a work of art, the creation of a literary and dramatic genius, a coherent, united exposition and development of one great theme; and this creative effort was either a French or a Celtic product, whatever the origins of the material employed.

The theory held by the earliest students of the legend was pro-Celtic. It was considered that the Celts gave to the French the central theme of unlawful, tragic love, conflicting with social duties; and a mass of matter in episodic form gravitating around the central theme. The extant French romances were largely compilations of the existing material, making some additions and alterations in order to keep their works up to the latest literary fashion. The basis of this theory[1] was that the great love spirit of the legend, and the episodes symbolic of it, were utterly foreign to French literature. In 1894 a French writer[2] had attacked the central point of this theory. He challenged G. Paris, the champion of the Celtic theory, to find a love-spirit, as in *Tristan,* in Celtic literature before the twelfth century. He revealed the extreme deference to the marriage law in old Irish literature, the widow being faithful even to a dead lord. "Le type de l'amour illégitime, tout-puissant . . . . est une création française du XIIe siècle, et sa naissance est le résultat spontané du milieu où elle s'est produite". He ascribes the origin of this love-spirit in French literature to the great importance of women in the twelfth century in France, who led almost all the great literary Courts, and who brought to their husbands great fiefs and domains, often even a crown; who made of the small County of Anjou a wide Empire, more powerful than the French Kingdom. Therefore literature, formerly written for warriors, as shown by the "chansons de geste," in

1. G. Paris, in "Romania", XV., 1886, pp. 597—602; and in "Revue de Paris", 1894, p. 138; F. Novati, article cit. in "Studj di filologia romanza", 1887, p. 369 seqq; W. Röttiger, op.cit., 1897.
2. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville in "Revue Celtique", XV., 1894, pp. 405—408.

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which women play hardly any part, was now written primarily for woman, and became imbued with conceptions of love.

Bédier[1] brought to a head the attack on the Celtic theory. Of the episodes of the legend brought forward by G. Paris to prove a Celtic origin he refuted all but four[2] as being not restricted to Celtic literature at all. He accepted these four as magic episodes with Celtic parallels, but showed that these are largely incidental. The crux of the legend is the conflict of fatal love and law, a conception requiring a strong feeling of the sanctity of the marriage bond; and Bédier showed that among the Celts this bond was extremely fragile. The love spirit of Tristan and Iseut was a conception foreign to a Celtic mind. There are many stories of the revolt of love against society in Celtic literature, where a conception of love, justified against social law, forms the basic principle; but in the *Tristan* legend social bonds are accepted in all their force, and the love is only tragic through this acceptance. The passion is all-powerful, everlasting; but ever fatal, ever unjustified, condemned even by the lovers themselves, as the scene of the Philtre well reveals[3]. It is a conception opposed to that of the Celtic elopement tales, which consist of voluntary self-abandonment to an unlawful passion, without a moral struggle in the hearts of the lovers.

Bédier also showed that the spirit of the legend was not portrayed, the aim of the work was not achieved, until the spirit of love had been shown as triumphing over every manner of obstacle and trial, as all-powerful throughout life, and even beyond the grave. To attribute this spirit of love to the Celts would mean attributing to them a complete romance of the lives and deaths of the lovers, entirely subjected to this central, constant theme. The real spirit of the legend cannot have been developed in a period of the legend when the story was expressed in short, episodic works. Bédier's refutation, both in epic and in romance spheres, of the theory of the compilation of complete poems from episodic material, narrowed the

1. Thomas' "Tristan", II., 1905.
2. The Mark legend, Tristan's skill in imitating birds, the bow "Qui ne faut", the castle of Tintagel.
3. And several other passages referring to the Philtre scene; cp Iseut's confession to Ogrin:—
   "Il ne m'aime pas, ne je lui,
   Fors par un herbé dont je bui
   Et il en but: ce fu pechiez" (Béroul, vv. 1412—1414).

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field of contention. Maintaining that the extant poems all went back to a complete work, he forced critics to recognise one or more entire romances as the source of the extant poems, as distinct from a mass of short lays, each dealing with a few features or episodes. The legend, for Bédier, was originally expressed as a whole, whether this complete expression was to be ascribed to the French or to the Celts. But, for Bédier, everything that was known of Celtic literature denied the possibility of the production of a complete *Tristan* romance among them, their literature consisting largely of short, episodic poems.

Bédier's conclusion was substantiated by that independently arrived at by Golther.[1] He held that the author of X drew from a double source, the historical, Celtic tradition of Tristan, Mark, and the battle with the foe from abroad, on the one hand; on the other, the fairy tale motif of the quest of the unknown princess with the golden hair. The author not only mingled these, but added a love fatality to the whole, blending it very skilfully with his two introductory themes. This supports Bédier's theory that the author of X had received episodic material from the Celts, but that the organic whole, the composition of the love romance, was his. The theory has also been strongly reasserted recently by E. Faral.[2] "Ce premier roman (i.e., of Tristan) était aussi, très vraisemblablement, une œuvre de langue française . . . . Si les Celtes lui ont peut-être consacré des lais . . . .ils n'en ont certainement pas tiré le grand roman d'amour que supposent les textes conservés: tout ce qu'on sait des formes de leur poésie s'oppose à cette idée. Telle que nous la présentent les textes, la légende de Tristan n'est celtique qu'autant que peuvent la faire paraître telle un certain nombre d'éléments accessoires".

Nevertheless a new school of thought has achieved a revival of the Celtic theory, widely prevalent at the present time.[3] The theory is not in the form in which it was brought forward by Gaston Paris. It recognises the provenance of the extant poems from one or more complete, original romances, but traces the spirit of them to the Celts. Its fundamental point is the deep divergence

1. "Tristan und Isolde", 1907.
2. "Histoire Illustrée de la Langue et de la Littérature française", publiée par J. Bédier et P. Hazard, I., 1924, pp. 21, 22.
3. Represented chiefly by G. Schoepperle, op.cit., 1913; R. S. Loomis, Mod. Lang. Notes, 1924; J. Kelemina, op.cit., 1923.

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between the spirit of the *Tristan* legend and the nature of French medieval romances. This theory has been only supportable in so far as it has kept to the difference of spirit; attempts to prove a Celtic origin by other means have been doubtful, such as J. Loth's study[1] of the nomenclature of the legend, identifying the place-names of the legend with localities in Cornwall. As Smirnov has pointed out,[2] it does not even prove the original localisation of the legend in Cornwall.

The Celtic school of thought has been championed by the able work of Miss Schoepperle,[3] who has virtually done for the Celtic view what Bédier accomplished for the French. With extreme logic and vigour, she maintains that the spirit of the romance reflects a Celtic "milieu"; that the psychology has a deep, fundamental difference from that of French romance of the twelfth century. The originality of the romance is a Celtic creation; the legend is stamped with the wild, bleak, Celtic character, which French authors, despite their efforts to weaken or alter the psychology so foreign to their literature, cannot conceal. Therefore Miss Schoepperle supposes in the French writers the minimum of modification of the Celtic legend; where alterations occur, they constitute defects. That is why, for Miss Schoepperle, the legend lost its original spirit so rapidly in France, and became moulded first to the ideal of "courtoisie", then to the conception of chivalry. She supports her theory by finding parallels to the *Tristan* story in the old Irish love romances, especially *Diarmaid and Grainne*". In both there is the triple position of the King, the Queen, and the King's nephew, lover of the Queen; in both the love has a supernatural beginning; in both the lovers fly to a forest, and live in solitude, until pursued by the King. This resemblance in episodes Miss Schoepperle considers too striking to be entirely accidental, and Bruce[4] has supported this view. Miss Schoepperle contends that the Celts had a great love

1. J. Loth. "Contributions à l'Etude des Romans de la Table Ronde", 1912.
2. Review of Loth's work by A. Smirnov in Romania, XLIII., 1914, p. 119 seqq.
3. Op.cit., 1913.
4. J. D. Bruce, op.cit., p. 173. Bruce takes a midway view between the pro-Celtic and the pro-French theories. As the two are really irreconcilable, he is led to considerable illogicality, e.g.: "The conflict of passion and law at the basis of the tragedy is the product of a more advanced stage of civilisation than that which produced the Irish romances" (p. 174, note 33); and "Accepting, in general, the theory that the essential feature of "Tristan" legend—the love motif—was Celtic" (p. 186).

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tragedy of Tristan and Iseut; and she definitely puts forward as her main argument for this the symbolisation in the forest life of the tragic suffering entailed by the opposition of social law to love. Dealing with incidents and episodes preceding the forest life, which, as she states, may have been added as well by one people as by another, she continues: "But with the life in the forest we come to a passage of more distinctive character". As she states, it is true that the lovers in the *Tristan* legend are not the sole couple in literature who have had to traverse the wilds in fleeing from their persecutors. "But Tristan and Isolt, alone of the lovers that we know, have made the wilderness their home, have had no thought of seeking beyond it a more friendly society. These alone establish themselves in the desert, wrenching their scanty sustenance and shelter from reluctant nature. These alone are cut off for years from the world, living without intercourse with any, deprived of every activity and every responsibility. In the closely woven fabric of feudal society they alone have no relation, no place. *In the account of their life in the forest, Tristan and Isolt are unique in French romance.* In other passages of their story we have found glimpses of a spirit and of customs that are not French. But in the life in the forest we find Tristan and Isolt associating themselves definitively with the company of the star-crossed lovers of old Irish romance".[1]

Quite recently, Kelemina has accepted and substantiated this view. The forest life is found in the Irish *Aitheda* or elopement stories; but there is no French parallel. "Die französische Literatur hat nichts Analoges aufzuweisen. Die Bände der faudalen Gesellschaft sind zu fest gefügt, als dass der einzelne oder ein Paar es wagen könnte, seine Existenz in solcher Isolation aufzurichten"[2] This undeniably Celtic feature, he adds, is the kernel of the romance, and it is Miss Schoepperle's greatest achievement to have shown the connection with Celtic stories at this point.

To the spirit of the forest life in the *Tristan* legend, so strongly urged to be unique in French romance, the original *Girart* poem offers a French parallel.[3] Perhaps

1. Op.cit., 1913, II., pp. 391—392.
2. Op.cit., 1923, p. 209.
3. It it true that Miss Schoepperle wrote of romance, while G1 belongs to the epic "genre"; but it contains romance features, of which these scenes form part; and Miss Schoepperle is clearly urging the distinction between Celtic and French literature.

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Miss Schoepperle would place *Girart de Roussillon* among the poems dealing with lovers who have to traverse the wilds to reach more hospitable regions, when they flee from their persecutors; of which, as she states, there are several instances in French medieval literature. But the original *Girart* poem does not offer a parallel only to a flight of this type. It offers a close parallel to the *Tristan* story in the very spirit of its forest life. Miss Schoepperle seems to dissociate the forest life in *Tristan* from other accounts of flights to the wilds, in that, in the latter, the lovers merely traverse some forest region, while Tristan and Iseut are imbued with the wild, elemental spirit of the life; the forest is an impenetrable veil, blocking out the world beyond and its significance; the lovers do not merely dwell outside society, but in all the aspects of their existence stand apart from the social bonds of the world, which do not enter into their life. The forest life in *Girart* is also of this kind, and cannot be reduced to a mere sojourn in a forest. It has been shown that in both legends the forest life is a world in itself;[1] a world of bitter suffering for evil and sin committed; in both it extorts the same penalty of misery; in both it executes the same ravages of body. But in the Irish parallel, *Diarmaid and Grainne,* the hardship and suffering are largely physical; there is little struggle of the soul, little moral torture. The flight to the forest in the Irish romance is a willing elopement to escape the obstacles set up by society; in the forest the lovers have entire freedom from remorse for their life. Tristan carries off Iseut to the Morois to escape an ugly death for himself, and to save her from a more awful life. Thus the flight in the *Tristan* legend is a bitter necessity, involving suffering of the soul as well as of the body: it is a greater tragedy than the elopement of the Irish lovers. The differences which render *Diarmaid and Grainne* hardly an exact parallel in spirit to the forest life in the *Tristan* story also separate it from *Girart de Roussillon,* and class together the *Tristan* and the *Girart de Roussillon* legends as against the Irish romance.

This difference between *Tristan* and the Irish romance is found throughout in the general character of the passion displayed. Miss Schoepperle does not seem

1. See pp. 10—15.

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to have seen that the psychology in *Diarmaid and Grainne"* is different from that in *Tristan.* In the former the love is tragic, but its tragedy does not arise from the deep feeling in the lovers of the fatality of their love, and of its criminal opposition to social law and duty. The conflict is merely that between a love, justified in the author's mind, and the obstacles presented by social law, merely an effort to elude these; the elopement to the forest is one of the means employed. The force of passion in the Irish lovers drives them to violate the ties of duty and loyalty and to set them aside; for Tristan and Iseut these bonds ever grip with tragic force and reality.

Two other characteristics of the spirit of the Irish romance separate it from *Tristan* and from *Girart de Roussillon.* In the first place, in *Diarmaid and Grainne,* and in several other Irish love stories, the passion displayed is very largely on the part of the heroine; the hero often resists her advances as much as he can. Miss Schoepperle herself has shown this.[1] "It is unwillingly that Diarmaid leaves his uncle's court to follow his uncle's bride. He takes her away not because he desires to do so, but because he must choose between this and the loss of his honor. He takes his resolution: He will go with Grainne, but he will do Finn[2] no wrong. When they are overtaken therefore, as overtaken they must be, she shall be returned to her husband unharmed. Grainne is, however, not content with this. She gives Diarmaid no peace, tempting him continually". Thus in the hero the force of honour and duty outweigh that of passion; he is coaxed to flee to the forest by the woman. The unwillingness of the man is revealed in such poems as *The Reproach of Diarmaid* :—[3]

"Thou hast ruined me, O Grainne.
thou hast brought shame on the son of Cumhall;
to be as I am in distress
is a load I cannot endure.

I left play and uproar
for a companion, which is more shameful:
I left women without an attendant
and thou hast ruined me, O Grainne.

1. Op.cit. II., p. 413.
2. His uncle.
3. Revue Celtique, XXXIII., pp. 52—54. The parts here are quoted by Miss Schoepperle, op.cit., II., pp. 413—414.

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I left merriment and delight,
banquet and festive group and laughter;
I left the play of poets;
And thou hast ruined me, O Grainne".

How different this is from the confession of Tristan to Ogrin about their life:—

"Mex aim o li estre mendis
Et vivre d'erbes et de glan
Q'avoir le reigne au roi Otran.
De lié laisier parler ne ruis,
Certes, quar faire ne le puis"
(Béroul, vv. 1404—1408);

and Girart's avowal to the hermit is similar:—

"Diste donne me pese qui mare fon" (G2, v. 7431).

In the second place, several of the passages quoted by Miss Schoepperle to show the forest life in Irish love stories[1] reveal a magic sweetness rather resembling the forest life in Thomas, which is quite opposed to the nature of the life in the original *Tristan* legend. In the Irish romances the lovers exist on "the dainty flesh of the woodcocks", "with mead of delicious hazel-nuts", "with an ox or boar of excellence". In the *Elopement of Deirdre with Naisi* the former says:—

"Though sweet be the excellent mead to you
* * * * * *
there has been known to me, ere now, leaping over a bank,
frequent sustenance which was sweeter.

When the noble Naisi spread out
a cooking hearth on hero-board of tree,
sweeter than any food dressed under honey
was what was captured by the son of Usnach".

Although the pipers are melodious, Deirdre says, referring to the forest life:

"I have heard melody sweeter far than these".

The "fair-curved trees", the "sweet, clear cry" of the birds, the streamlets, "the groves of the blackbirds"—all give an atmosphere of gentle tenderness, of idyllic beauty, far from the bleak realism of the life in the Morois, where:—

"Seignors, mot fu el bois Tristrans
Mot i out paines et ahans.

1. Op.cit. II., pp. 410—413.

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En un leu n'ose remanoir,
Dont lieve au main ne gist au soir.
* * * * *
* * * * *
* * * * *
* * * * *
Mot sont el bois del pain destroit,
De char vivent, el ne menguent.
Que puent il, se color muent?
Lor dras ronpent, rains les decirent,
Longuement par Morrois fuirent.
Chascun d'eus soffre paine elgal,
Qar l'un por l'autre resent mal"

(Béroul, vv. 1637—1650).

Set Naisi's "cooking hearth on hero-board of tree", where the fare is "sweeter than any food dressed under honey", beside Béroul's half humorous, yet infinitely pathetic line:—

"Mot avoient a faire queu!" (v. 1296);

the two are completely different; and this difference between a pleasant and a bitter life in the forest separates the Irish romances not only from the *Tristan* story but also from *Girart de Roussillon.*

The parallelism between *Girart* and *Tristan* extends to other episodes in the forest life, common to the two French legends, but wholly absent in *Diarmaid and Grainne*—the hermit scenes. These fulfil an object in the *Girart* and in the *Tristan* legends, which reveals the difference in spirit between these two legends and the Irish romance. In the *Tristan* poems the hermit's role, with his repeated exhortation to the lovers to repent, brings into more striking relief the criminality of the passion and its might against social bonds. So in the original *Girart* poem the hermit is the preacher of repentance for evil and sin committed. In *Diarmaid and Grainne,* as the lovers' passion is justified, the hermit's role has no place. In this, again, it is in the spirit of the life, through which alone the hermit's role is important in the romance, that the *Tristan* legend is more akin to *Girart* than to *Diarmaid and Grainne.* The Irish romance perhaps offers a closer parallel to *Tristan* than does *Girart* in several of the episodes, and in the sequence of the incidents. Miss Schoepperle has indicated that it is in the spirit of the life rather than in the episodes that the *Tristan* legend is,

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for her, unique in French literature; in the spirit of the life, *Girart de Roussillon* is the parallel to *Tristan*. The Latin Life of Girart, which in all probability follows G1 in these scenes, stamps the forest life with the characteristic quality given to it in the *Tristan* story :—" vie povre et aspre ". Is it a mere coincidence that this author drew from his source almost the very words used later by Béroul, probably the most faithful " remanieur " of the Archetype?

In a work indebted to so many and to so widespread sources as the Archetype must have been, the original *Girart* poem was at least likely to have been one. It is at least as probable that the author of the Archetype would have drawn from *Girart de Roussillon* as from *Diarmaid and Grainne*. It is true that Celtic or Breton bards could easily have related Irish love stories to the Court of Poitou. But the popularity of the *Girart* legend, especially in the South-West literary Courts of France, its existence in those regions as attested by G2, and the evidence of its connection with the *Tristan* romances,[1] combine to make it the more likely source.

The Celtic school of critics can therefore hardly base an argument for a complete Celtic love romance of *Tristan* on the view that the lovers in the forest life have no place in the fabric of French society and of French literary conceptions. Miss Schoepperle's main contention for a complete Celtic *Tristan* romance can only serve to support Bédier's theory that the Celts supplied only parallel incidents and episodes. Miss Schoepperle has shown the derivation of very many of the episodes in the *Tristan* legend from Celtic lore and tradition. Her study has undoubtedly revealed that more episodes in the *Tristan* legend are to be traced to Celtic tales than Bédier was willing to admit. This difference is only a difference of degree. Very probably the author of the Archetype heard Celtic accounts of a forest life related to him, and was indebted to them for incidents. But the original *Girart* poem shows that incidents alone are to be ascribed to the Celts; that the spirit even of the forest life was already in existence in a French poem before Celtic episodic matter came to the ears of the Poitevin Court. The nature of the forest life in the *Tristan* legend is not unique in French literature; and the Celtic parallel,

1. See pp. 80—82.

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as far as it is a parallel, is only of secondary importance. It can be no argument for crediting the Celts with the central, fundamental spirit of the romance. For the spirit of the forest life is a fundamental spirit in the *Tristan* legend; its wild, bare misery and bitter exclusion from the world are symbols of the great passion of the romance; the love is also a wild, bleak fatality, the cause of suffering and torturing conflict; the conception of the life, the treachery to duty, the unlawful, sinful passion, whose very joys only come attended by miseries, is totally akin to the core of the romance itself. The conception of the forest life in the *Tristan* story existed in a French poem by the beginning of the twelfth century. The idea was the product of a French mind; the outcome of a French "milieu". From the indebtedness of the author of the Archetype to the original *Girart* poem, there is additional reason to accept Bédier's theory. It can be believed with greater probability that a French poet of genius received from some "conteurs" a mass of episodic legend and tradition from Celtic countries—tales and pieces of popular lore, each distinct and separate—and heard, among these, some historical traditions about King Mark of Cornwall, his Queen Essylt, and a Drystan who was in some way connected with these, and who had an independent tradition of his own as a Pictish hero: that the poet, imbued with a central, governing conception of his own, blended these, utilising much of the traditions the Celtic storytellers had related to him, but shaping and altering each motif or episode wherever required to make each bear out his fundamental theme; and created thereby the great love romance of Tristan and Iseut, organically, dramatically and artistically a whole. The original *Girart* poem gives additional ground for holding that the contribution of the Celts to the great romance had just the importance of the contribution of Holinshed to the work of Shakespeare; that, whatever the author's sources (and the greatest supporter of Celtic origins has not ascribed to the Celts all the material in the Archetype[1]) the creation of the original *Tristan* romance was French.

1. As known through the primary extant texts.

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VII.

G2 AS A DERIVATIVE OF THE ORIGINAL *TRISTAN* POEM.

(1) The Existence of the Original "Tristan" poem as Revealed by G2.

It has already been shown[1] that Bédier, in his reconstruction of the original *Tristan* romance, in the hermit scenes in the forest life,[2] made an unusual departure from the fragment of Béroul (which he considered to be the best "remaniement" of the original romance), to copy passages from Meyer's translation[3] of the extant "chanson de geste" of *Girart de Roussillon.* Bédier clearly accepted the epic as a close derivative of the Archetype in these scenes. It has already been pointed out[4] that G2 was probably written in Limousin, closely linked with Poitou, where the Archetype was probably written. *Girart de Roussillon* had the same course of development into Provençal literature as *Tristan;* the same group of poets refer to both legends. It is extremely probable, therefore, that the resemblances which have been pointed out between G2 and the *Tristan* poems[5] are due to borrowings from the Archetype by the author of the epic. The original *Tristan* poem would then be a source of G2 for the forest life and the hermit scenes, the passages on the ring-giving, and on the recognition by the ring, and the spirit and course of the drama of love.

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1. See p. 2.
2. "Le Roman de Tristan et d'Iseut", renouvelé par J. Bédier, 1900, pp. 95, 96.
3. "Girart de Roussillon", 1884, p. 235.
4. See pp. 17—19.
5. See pp. 4—15.

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In these borrowed scenes, the author of G2, whose work is older than any of the extant versions of the *Tristan* legend, seems to have made a widespread use of his source, and to reveal acquaintance with a *Tristan* romance more complete than any extant version. G2 has the scenes of the ring-giving, which are absent in Eilhart and in the Prose Romance. It has the scenes in which the hero is recognised by presenting the ring, which are neither in Béroul nor in Thomas.[1] It has the hermit scenes, absent in Thomas and in the Prose Romance; it has the scenes of the forest life, which are extremely different in Thomas and in the Prose Romance. In the development of the love intrigue the hero marries another princess in memory of the Queen he loves, who is already married. This is a reflection of the episode of Iseut of the White Hands, which is absent in Béroul. Eilhart's poem contains most of the episodes of the *Tristan* story to which parallels exist in G2; but in Eilhart many of these appear in a condensed form, in considerably less detail than in G2. It is also significant to note the position in the *Tristan* story of the scenes in which G2 bears to it so close a resemblance. The author of G2 includes in his work the forest life with the hermit scenes, and the giving of the ring to the hero as a token of remembrance and of love. Here are two separate episodes which occur in the central part of the *Tristan* story. But there are to be found in G2 the scenes where the hero in disguise presents the ring to the Queen years after his acceptance of it, and where the hero marries a princess other than the one for whom he keeps his everlasting passion. These scenes both occur in the latter part of the *Tristan* story; the former indeed, near the end of the romance. It is apparent, therefore, that the author of G2 drew from a more comprehensive and more detailed version than any of the primary extant texts.

The fact that the author of G2 knew episodes occurring in various parts of the *Tristan* legend might only indicate that he drew from many separate, episodic, short poems on parts of the romance. But he has also drawn from the *Tristan* legend the spirit and course of his love drama; and the derivation of this from the

1. In Thomas, however, the hero sends Kaherdin with a message to Iseut, and he is recognised by her on showing his master's ring. The quality of arousing remembrance, which the ring possesses, is, therefore, retained in this version.

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Tristan story presupposes indebtedness to a complete *Tristan* romance, a united, organic whole. In *Girart* the love is portrayed enduring through years of separation, of privation and of suffering; it outlives marriage; and, in spite of all the trials imposed, it lasts throughout life. It can only have been drawn from a *Tristan* romance in which the central theme was developed to the full under all possible forms, in which the eternal power of the passion was revealed only by being traced from its source through all the vicissitudes of life unto the grave, where it still reigned triumphant. The unity, the cohesion of the love drama in G2, the constant nature which it keeps throughout, portrayed at the end of the long poem with the same features and spirit as in the beginning, in spite of the interpolation of a long epic narrative where love is absent—these point with striking clearness to a complete, united *Tristan* romance as the source of this love in the "chanson de geste"; these reveal, in addition to Bédier's conclusions, that there existed the Archetype, a single entire romance of the love of Tristan and Iseut, as the basis of all the existing accounts.

(2) The Date and Locality of Composition of the Original "Tristan" Poem as Revealed by G2.

Reasons have already been given[1] to show that the "chanson de geste" of *Girart de Roussillon* was composed on the borders of the "langued'oïl" and the "langued'oc", probably in Limousin, at the literary Court of the Counts of Ventadour. It has also been indicated[2] that G2 was written soon after 1155, very probably in the decade following it, although, beyond internal evidence from the nature of the poem, a definite "terminus ad quem" for G2 has yet to be found. But G2, as has been shown,[3] is prior to any of the extant versions of *Tristan,* and therefore reveals that the Archetype must have been composed before 1155. Bruce's contention[4] that X, because of its "courtois"

1. See pp. 17—19.
2. See pp. 19—25.
3. See p. 80.
4. Op.cit., vol. I., Chapter V.

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elements, was a contemporary of the "romans d'antiquité" and was followed almost immediately by the version of Thomas, can hardly stand. The allusions of Bernart de Ventadour and of Cercamon[1] had already spoken for an Archetype before 1154; but there was some uncertainty attending the date and authenticity of these, such that many critics[2] had refused to accept them as conclusive evidence. G2 as a derivative of the original *Tristan* romance helps to bear out their evidence, in placing the Archetype in the second quarter of the twelfth century.

Since the extant "chanson de geste" is an earlier derivative of the Archetype than any of the extant *Tristan* poems, it is probable that the Archetype was composed in a region close to that in which G2 was written, and intimately connected with it. It must be remembered that the similar course of development of both legends into both French and Provençal literature points to a close relation between the two legends themselves. Even the love theme, similar in the two stories, tends to place the composition of G2 and of the Archetype in this same South-West region of France. Girart is the great vassal who loves the lady of his Lord and King, as Tristan is Mark's nephew, one of his chief men, and loves Mark's Queen. It is Miss Schoepperle herself, in spite of all her arguments for a Celtic origin of the love romance of *Tristan* who points out this resemblance between the love motif in *Tristan* and the literary themes of South-West France.[3] "The love of a gifted vassal for the lady of his lord is the frequent theme of the lyrics of the troubadours. The story of Tristan is the oft-repeated tale which we read in the biography of Bernart de Ventadour, fabulous if you will, but no less important for literary history"; and she quotes a passage[4] from it in support of this, about the love of Bernart for the wife of Ebles II., Count of Ventadour; who was the head of the Limousin Court at which G2 was in all probability written. Is it not clear that the importance "for literary history" of the love themes of this region and their resemblance to that of *Tristan,* is to prove that the love romance of *Tristan* was a product of this

1. See pp. 61 and p. 67.
2. Schoepperle, op.cit., 1913; Bruce, op.cit., vol. I., 1923; Kelemina, op.cit., 1923.
3. Schoepperle, op.cit., vol. II., Appendix, p. 447.
4. Appel, "Provenzalische Chrestomathie" (1907 edition), pp. 189—190.

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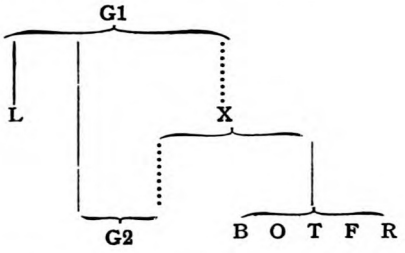
" milieu ", the love conception of which it so faithfully and so skilfully represents? The considerable and many-sided evidence of connection cannot be overlooked;[1] and the composition of G2 in this same " milieu " would explain the infiltration of a conception of love, that of the troubadours and of the *Tristan* legend, into the epic " chanson ", from whose real nature nothing is more remote than the love drama which is introduced. From G2 there is then additional reason for holding the Archetype to have been composed at or near the Court of Poitou, where literary activity, spreading in from Provence, had developed to so advanced a state early in the twelfth century. Not only the triple relationship between the original *Tristan* romance, *Girart de Roussillon,* and the " troubadour " and " trouvère " literature, but the long-standing connection of the *Tristan* legend with the House of Anjou, and the development of this legend throughout France, Germany, England and Norway by the thirteenth century, as revealed by extant versions in those countries, are explained clearly and logically by accepting the Court of Poitiers as the French fountain-head of the legend.

(3) The Contents of the Original " Tristan " Poem as Revealed by G2.

It has now been shown that G2 is a derivative of the Archetype, while it obtains the bulk of its material from G1, itself a source of the Archetype. A table may serve to illustrate the relations between the texts of the *Girart de Roussillon* and of the *Tristan* legends with which this study is concerned.



1. See also J. Anglade, " Les Troubadours " (1908); " Histoire de la Littérature française méridionale ", (1921).

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G2 is, moreover, the earliest existing version of the *Tristan* story in the forest life and the ring scenes. It can therefore take its place beside the other derivatives as an indication of the contents of the original poem, and as an aid to the reconciliation and explanation, as far as possible, of the varying accounts in the primary extant versions. G2 is especially valuable in this respect, as one of the parts in which it is a derivative of the original *Tristan* poem is the forest life. Bédier has said of this :[1] " Il y a deux scènes entre toutes qui tentent nécessairement chaque conteur de Tristan : la scène du Philtre, la Vie dans la forêt "; it is perhaps because of this that the extant accounts present such great differences, and that a determination of the features of the original poem in this part is so problematical. Bédier based his reconstruction of the forest life largely on the versions of Béroul and Eilhart; and of the return and its motives, mainly on the account in Thomas. But Thomas' version of the life is only ascertainable from his derivatives; and the reconstruction of his account from these is more difficult in this part than elsewhere, as Bédier has shown;[1] for all Thomas' derivatives save one describe it very briefly; the German Gottfried de Strasbourg alone paints the forest life in fulness and detail; and much of this description may therefore be his own addition. A reconstruction of the Archetype, in the earlier scenes of the life, could only be carried out with the help of one reliable French version, that of Béroul; and Bédier's method of determining the original by the concordance of the greatest number of extant versions was hardly serviceable for much of the forest life. The opposition to Bédier's theory has had no value in itself; in Miss Schoepperle's words[2] " The reaction is salutary inasmuch as it recognises that the methods of demonstration which M. Bédier employs should be revised ". Since G2 supplies another French version of this part, and in addition, since it is an early derivative, it is possible again to attempt to reconstruct these scenes in the original, by means of these derivatives, Béroul, the extant " chanson de geste " of *Girart de Roussillon,* Eilhart, the *Folie Tristan,* Thomas and the Prose Romance.

The motives for the flight to the forest are similar in all the versions save Thomas. All the others relate how the

1. " Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas ", t. 1., p. 234, note 1.
2. In Review of " Die Tristansage und das persische Epos . . . ", von R. Zenker, 1911, and of " Untersuchungen zur Tristansage . . . ", von J. Kelemina, 1910, in " Romania ", XL., pp. 114—119, 1911.

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lovers were caught and condemned to death by Mark: Tristan escaped by leaping from the chapel; Iseut, who had been given up to a band of lepers, was rescued from them; and the lovers fled to the vast, wild forest of Morois to escape death at the King's hands. Thomas alone, wishing to minimise the hostility of Mark towards the pair, omitted the condemnation; simply narrating that Mark gave the lovers liberty to reside wherever they desired, save at his court; they then departed, alone and joyful, to the forest. Thomas' unreliability has already been demonstrated by Bédier;[1] and G2 bears a further witness to this, as there the forest life is an inevitable misery, to avoid death; not a welcome opportunity to enjoy love without opposition, as in Thomas.[2] Again, in the flight itself, the lovers go alone in Thomas, taking with them whatever they choose; Tristan, for example, leads with him his favourite dog. But in the other versions and in G2 they are driven to hide themselves by sheer necessity; a deadlock ensues in which the King hardly dares to enter the forest; for he and his court fear the lovers there; while, as he has placed a price on the hero's head the two dare not quit the shelter of the woods for the open country. So, too, *Girart de Roussillon* helps to disprove the reliability of the nature of the life in Thomas' account. The amenities of the existence in his account,[3] the beautiful grotto, the sweet sights and odours find no place in G2 nor in any of the extant versions, save a few touches in the Prose Romance.[4] All other accounts show that it was a hard and bitter life, which only the power of their love enabled them to endure. The extant "chanson" of *Girart de Roussillon,* the Latin Life, Béroul, Eilhart, the *Folie Tristan,* and in a lesser degree the Prose Romance,[5] all concur to describe the hardships of their existence. Thomas clearly altered at his own pleasure in this part, and perhaps that is why Gottfried de Strasbourg alone of his derivatives gives a full account of this life.

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1. "Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas", t. II., pp. 259—263.
2. Ibid, t. I., pp. 234, 235.
3. Ibid. t. I., pp. 234—238.
4. Where the lovers inhabit a disused house, and Governal can bring them food and necessaries from a neighbouring castle.
5. For the sake of convenience the usual abbreviations for the texts will be employed henceforth: B, the French poem of Béroul; T, the French fragments of Thomas; O, the German poem of Eilhart; R, the French prose Romance; Fb, the "Folie Tristan" of Berne; Fd, the "Folie Tristan" of Oxford; G, the German poem of Gottfried de Strasbourg; E, the English "Sir Tristrem"; S, the Norse prose version; Tav, the Italian prose version "La Tavola Ritonda".

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In the episode of Husdent the accounts vary considerably, while G2 has no corresponding feature. The combination of O, Fb, T and R seems to place this episode at the beginning of the life, not as in B alone, after the first visit to the hermit. The general account in B, Fb, however, is probably accurate; O's omission of Mark's release of Husdent from captivity being probably merely an abbreviation, while T's account of Tristan taking the dog with him necessitates the perverted version of the departure which is found in T.

The evidence of G2 helps to place the visits to the hermit as part of the Archetype. G2 is an extremely valuable text here, as T and R omit the hermit's role entirely, and O and Fb only mention it briefly, without any description of the scenes. Bédier's inclusion of a detailed account of the hermit scenes in the original poem, on the sole authority of B, was dangerous, because unsupported; but the evidence of G2 can be brought forward to reveal it as warranted. Further, G2 reveals that the first visit took place, not, as in O, after the discovery of the lovers by the King, but before this, as in B, although B is probably in error in placing the visit to the hermit before the episode of Husdent. That, however, is of minor importance. Their meeting with the hermit early in the Life gives their love a severe trial, right at the outset, which it nevertheless withstands; so that they live in the forest, knowing that they have been urged to abandon their sin. In this G2 supports B as the faithful derivative of the Archetype.

The various versions do not tally in the account of the two visits to Ogrin. In B the two visit the hermit on both occasions; in O the first visit is paid by Tristan alone; Iseut only accompanies him on the visit in which they repent. G2 again supports B, although there is only one visit in G2. The beautiful scene where Iseut falls weeping at the hermit's feet, and where he raises her up, praying God to bring them to repentance, for he himself cannot, does not occur in O, and could not occur, as the first visit is made by Tristan alone. But in G2 and in B, this scene is described with remarkable similarity; again pointing to B, against O, as the reliable " remanieur " of the Archetype.

To the discovery of the lovers, which follows the first visit to Ogrin, G2 offers no parallel. The accounts in the extant versions vary considerably; Bédier[1] has dealt with

1. " Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas ", t. I., pp. 240—247; t. II., pp. 255—264.

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most of the variations, but his work reveals certain inconsistencies. He has established the validity of B, in agreement with most of the other versions, that a forester of Mark discovers the lovers asleep, apart and clothed, with Tristan's sword lying between them; and that he brings the news to Mark and shows him the place. Here Bédier states that Mark is convinced of the chastity of their attitude; instead of avenging himself he replaces Tristan's sword by his own, and seeing a ray of sunlight burning Iseut's face, stops it by placing his glove in the aperture between the leaves through which it came. Bédier cites as his authorities for this version, O, B, T, F, and the allusions in the *Roman de la Poire,* and the *Roman de l'Escoufle.*[1] The replacing of Tristan's sword by his own is, indeed, given by all save T; but there is by no means the unanimity as to the glove scene that Bédier would suggest. Earlier he had shown[2] that the allusion in the *Escoufle* proved that the version in T was that Mark laid his glove gently upon Iseut's cheek, as related also in Fd and in Tav. Apart from this contradiction, Bédier tried to show[3] that the difficulty of T and his derivatives arose from the fact that, in T, the scene being set in a rocky grotto, Mark could not obscure the ray by placing his glove in an aperture between the leaves, as in the Béroul-Eilhart version where the scene is a leafy hut. Of T's probable version he says :[4] " Mais comment, à leur reveil, les amants auraient-ils remarqué que ce pertuis était obstrué par un gant? La scène restait invraisemblable ". The version of B, in Bédier's interpretation of it, would be equally awkward; for it is to be supposed that as the glove falls upon Iseut's bosom, it drops from its position between the leaves at the precise moment that Iseut wakes. But B's version is really quite consistent; he relates Mark's words :—

" Uns ganz de vair ai je o moi,
Qu'el aporta o soi d'Irlande.
Le rai qui sor la face brande
(Qui, li fait chaut) en vuel covrir " (vv. 2032–2035);

and Mark's deed :—

" Le rai qui sor Yseut decent
Covre des ganz mot bonement " (vv. 2041—2042).

When Iseut wakes :—

" Li gant paré du blanc hermine
Li sont choiet sor la poitrine " (vv. 2075—2076).

1. Thomas, t. II., p. 256, 257.
2. Thomas, t. I., p. 241, note 4.
3. " Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas ", t. I., p. 241, note 4.
4. Ibid.

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There is no mention of Mark placing his glove in the aperture of the leaves;[1] it is clear that he has placed it on Iseut's cheek, and that it naturally falls upon her bosom when she starts up. This is supported by O, who says that Mark laid his glove upon the Queen; by T, to judge from the majority of his derivatives;[2] and by the allusion in the *Escoufle*.[3] The only versions stating that Mark laid his glove in the aperture are Fb^3, G^2 and the allusion in the *Poire*.[3] There is, therefore, only one possible primary derivative of X, Fb giving this version, while three, B, O, T, support the other.

Bédier does not note in his list of episodes peculiar to B^4 the exchange of rings which Mark carries out. This feature is undoubtedly added by B. In B, Mark sees on Iseut's finger

"L'anel a pierre esmeraudine" (v. 2028);

he takes it off, replacing it by one of his own, which, as is seen later, is

"Un jaspe vert a u seel" (v. 2708).

In the scene where Tristan presents the ring to obtain recognition, B is not extant; but other versions clearly refer to the ring which was on Iseut's finger when Mark discovered the lovers. Fb relates how Tristan speaks of

"Cest enelet petit d'or fin" (v. 532),

and adds:—

"Par amor baisai l'esmeraude" (v. 538).

This clearly refers to the ring Iseut had when fleeing to the forest; and it is also confirmed by Fd:—

"D'or esmeré, ben fait e bel" (v. 954);

and by the reference of the Prose Romance: "Il est tout plat, et si y a une esmeraude, la plus belle que je veisse oncques" (MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 103, fol. 380). It is therefore clear that B invented the exchange of rings, especially as, almost everywhere else, Fb presents a striking similarity to B.

In the return from the forest, Bédier established the contents of the original poem largely from the version of T,[5] placing B, O, among the list of variations, somewhat in contrast to his principle of placing in the list of

1. This interpretation of B perhaps arises from regarding Fb as a partial derivative of B; but in several cases (cp., e.g., Bédier, Thomas, t. II., p. 263) Fb departs from B: it cannot then be derived from B, but must be an independent version.
2. "Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas", t. I., p. 241 note 4.
3. Thomas, t. II., p. 257 (Variantes).
4. Thomas, t. II., p. 256 (Variantes).
5. "Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas", t. II., p. 258.

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concordances all material given by two versions at least, and in the list of variations all given only by one version.[1] T might be followed as against B, O, if there were any evidence that T was usually a more reliable version than O or B. But as a whole, B is far more reliable than T, and the evidence of G2 substantiates B and O against T. In T the lovers feel that Mark, on discovering them, has spared them by his courtesy and clemency; they, therefore, resolve to effect a reconciliation with him, by which Tristan gives back Iseut. In G2, B and O, the motive for the return is a sudden change of outlook, as if a veil were removed from their eyes, so that the forest life, and the world outside it, appear each in its true light. It is the sudden weakening of the force of a sinful and fatal passion, opposing social law; a weakening which enables them to see their duty towards the world and society. The return to the hermit in B and O is intimately connected with this; the two remember Ogrin, who had promised to help them if they repented; they return to him, penitent; and he arranges the agreement with Mark. The weakening of the magic, fatal force of their love alone makes possible the rest of the romance; and wherever the love potion has any efficacy it is limited; its limitation being the sole means of explaining a separation. The voluntary decision of the lovers to separate in T is in accordance with the more rationalistic outlook towards the romance which Thomas held; he suppressed the magic wherever possible. It seems highly probable that the magic force of the potion existed in the primitive version as in B and O, and that the weakening of its power throughout, so that there was no need to limit the period of its action, was an alteration made by an author who was attracted by other features than the magic and wonder of the original romance. There is no actual power which suddenly weakens in G2, but the feeling of the necessity of returning is, as in B and O, sudden, and beyond rational explanation; the author of G2 is apparently influenced by the conception of a magic force gripping the two during the forest life, then suddenly weakening to reveal the world to them in its true light. The lament of Tristan and Iseut, that each is keeping the other away from social life, is remarkably similar in spirit to the sudden wave of feeling that comes over Girart and Berte. Since G2 is prior to T, it supports the view that B and O are the faithful "remanieurs"; and

1. Thomas, t. II., p. 193.

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helps to substantiate what was already indicated by the accurate concordance of B and O, that in the original romance the potion was limited, and that the account of the return took place as in B and O. If the potion was not limited in the Archetype, it must have been of negligible power throughout as in T, which would leave unexplained and incredible the scenes of the philtre and of the briar over the tombs, which are striking testimony to the potion's efficacy. With an unlimited potion, of such power as it possesses in the philtre and in the briar scenes, the separation of the lovers, and the whole of the part following it, would be impossible. As Bédier has said, T is nowhere less reliable than in the forest life; so that it is extremely unlikely that his version represents the motives for the return as in the original poem, when three primary versions, one prior to T, concur against him.

The limited potion in the Archetype goes far to explain the very striking resemblances between certain extant versions, and also the no less remarkable variations. Bédier's view of an unlimited potion in the Archetype was largely responsible for the postulation of a common sub-source, Y, for B and O, of which nothing is known, to which there is no allusion, and whose author limited the duration of the potion's full efficacy. It is true that the close agreement of B and O, not only in the limited potion but in the whole part from the pine tree episode to the return from the forest, has to be explained. But if B and O agree in this part, which forms the central crux of the narrative, it is because they are both close followers of the original. If, in so many episodes, B and Fb have close kinship, it is because both, in these episodes, are faithful "remanieurs" of the Archetype. The extreme alterations carried out in T in this part, as well as those in R are, indeed, alterations of episode; but they are alterations of episode subjected to an alteration of spirit; Thomas and the writers of the prose Romances are not to be condemned for motiveless perversion. Thomas' omissions or alterations, in the condemnation, in Iseut's abandonment to the lepers, in Tristan's leap to escape death, in the flight to the forest as a bitter necessity, in the return, because of the weakening of the love potion, are in accordance with his aim to soften the harsher parts of the story, and by minimising the magic, to reduce the story as far as possible to a rationalistic basis. There is no need of a sub-source to explain Thomas' aberration from the original poem, as has been necessary to

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explain B and O as perverted accounts. Moreover, Thomas is no longer the earliest derivative; and the oldest extant version attaches itself rather to Eilhart and Béroul. Bédier has shown that the primary extant versions, B, O, T, R, and possibly Fb, were derived from one single complete poem; to his work the corollary may now be added that these five, independently of one another, are derived directly from the Archetype. All their important variations are then explicable by the different outlook, spirit and object of their various authors.

The forest life in the original poem may then be reconstructed as follows. Tristan has escaped from the death designed for him (B, O, R); he rescues Iseut from the lepers (B, O), and the lovers, accompanied only by one servant (B, O) leave the world for the wild thickets of the forest of Morois (G2,[1] B, O, Fb, T, R). They shelter in a leafy hut which Tristan builds (B, O, Fb). Outcasts from the world and from society (G2, B, O, T, R), theirs is a hard and bitter life (G2, L, B, O, Fb). They feel it not, so great is the power of their love (B,O, Fb, T, R). Tristan only feels for Iseut's suffering, Iseut only for that of Tristan (G2, B, O, R). They are safe in their poverty, for the King is afraid of Tristan; and has offered a large reward to whomsoever shall take him, alive or dead (G2, B, O, R). Distress and hardship pursue them; they lack proper food; they grow thin and pale (G2, B, O, Fb).

Meanwhile Husdent, Tristan's favourite hound, grows mad in captivity at Mark's castle (B, Fb). Released by Mark, he pursues his master's scent far into the forest (B, O, Fb, R). Fearing that Husdent's barking may betray their abode (B, O), Tristan trains him to hunt game silently (B, T, R); and they keep the dog with them; he is of great use to them in hunting game for food (B, O, T, R).

Wandering through the forest one day, the lovers come upon the cell of the hermit Ogrin (G2, B, Fb). The old, bent man, leaning upon his crutch, comes towards them (G2, B). He learns how they are living (G2, B), and urges repentance (G2, B, O); preaching earnestly to Tristan that he must give up the Queen (B, O). Again and again he commands Tristan to abandon his sin:—"He who lives in sin and is not penitent is as one dead" (G2, B); "repent, Tristan!" (G2, B, O). But Tristan cannot (G2, B, O); the Queen is dearer to him than repentance (B, O).

1. In G2, of course, the names are altered or omitted; and this applies throughout.

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He would rather be in poverty with Iseut than own kingdoms without her (B, O, T, R). The hermit reproves Tristan; at his reproach, Iseut falls at the good man's feet, and lies there motionless, weeping (G2, B). "Mercy, sire", she cries, "mercy"! (G2, B). But the hermit answers: "May God help you to repentance, for I cannot" (G2, B). He shelters them for the night at his cell; on the morrow they plunge again into the wilds of the forest (G2, B). Tristan lives unshriven (B, O); both are dominated by the power of their love (B, O, T, R).

One hot day (B, Fb, T) while the lovers are sleeping in their leafy hut (B, O, Fb), their abode is discovered (B, O, Fb, T, R) by one of the King's huntsmen who has penetrated thither (B, O, T). They are sleeping apart from one another (B, O, T); Tristan's great sword lies between them (B, O, Fb, T). The forester, terrified lest Tristan should wake (B, T) flies back to Mark with the news (B, O, T). Mark, enjoining him to secrecy, follows him back through the forest (B, O, T), and is shown the lovers' abode (B, O, T, R). Leaving the forester with the horses (B, O, T), Mark peers into their hut (B, O, Fb), and finds the lovers asleep, parted, with the drawn sword between them (B, O, Fb, T). Mark is convinced that their love is not guilty; he resolves, nevertheless, to leave proof of his visit (B, O, T); he takes up Tristan's sword, leaving his own in its place (B, O). Seeing a ray of sunlight burning upon Iseut's face (B, Fb, T), he softly lays one of his gloves upon her cheek to ward off the beam (B, O, T, *Escoufle*[1]); and departs quietly (B, O, Fb, T). Iseut suddenly awakes and sees the glove (B, O, T), which has fallen upon her bosom (B). She cries out and awakens Tristan (B, T), who sees the sword exchanged (B, O). Both are surprised (B, O, Fb, T) and alarmed (B, O, Fb); they flee from their hut in greater misery and terror (B, O).

Thus they live on in the forest until a day comes when the power of the potion wanes (B, O); suddenly they are again conscious of their former life (G2, B, O); the forest appears in its real misery (G2, B, O). Tristan and Iseut, at the same time, begin to lament for their past life (G2, B, O). "But for me", Tristan says, "Iseut might be living as a Queen, in splendid rooms, surrounded by her maids; I am keeping her here in misery"; and Iseut ponders likewise (G2, B). Tristan is now repentant (G2, B, O).

1. The allusion in the "Roman de l'Escoufle"; see Bédier, Thomas' Tristan, Vol II., p. 257 (Variantes).

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Iseut reminds him of the hermit who promised them repentance (G2, B): who is a good man and who will give them wise counsel (B, O, Fb). They again return, humbly, to Ogrin (B, O); he is overjoyed that Tristan is ready to return Iseut to Mark, that they have abandoned their sin (B, O); and the agreement with Mark is effected through Ogrin's activity (B, O).

The extant "chanson" of *Girart de Roussillon* is also a derivative of the original *Tristan* poem in the scenes of the ring giving and of the recognition of the hero by means of presenting the ring. The former of these scenes can be dealt with fairly briefly, as there is less uncertainty as to the contents of the Archetype in this scene than in that of the forest life. Moreover by G2 little light is thrown upon the nature of this scene in the original *Tristan* poem, because in G2 the scene is described very briefly. In the recognition scene the contents of the Archetype are very disputable, so that G2 can help to throw useful light upon this part.

In the first place, G2 supports the occurrence of the parting of the lovers soon after the giving of the ring. Girart departs immediately to Roussillon, while Charles' hostility raises a strong barrier at once between Girart and Elissent. Scenes interpolated in the *Tristan* legend between the surrender of Iseut to Mark and Tristan's departure for Brittany, are, therefore, all the more probably additions by the authors of the extant texts. Such are the episodes of the trial by red-hot iron, and the slaying of Gondoïne in B, and the adventure of the scythes in O. This part of B had always been considered as containing much addition to the original romance, probably by a second Béroul, continuing the earlier Béroul poem. G2 gives additional support for this view. Moreover, from the return from the forest to the end of the Béroul fragment, B and O, which had hitherto presented striking similarity, differ widely. From G2 there is additional confirmation for the theory that this difference is because of the respective additions made by the various authors; and that two or more primary versions only agree closely over the whole of several parts or episodes when they are reproducing fairly faithfully the contents of the Archetype.

In the episode of the recognition by the ring, G2 is an instructive derivative. The episode is narrated with great similarity in O and in R; it occurs in a very different form

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in T; while the most detailed account is given by the two poems of the *Folie Tristan,* which deal solely with this episode. No other feature in the *Tristan* story exists in two poems devoted exclusively to one episode. The only work resembling the *Folie Tristan* is Marie de France's lyric lay of *Chievrefoil.* It has sometimes been held that the *Folie Tristan* poems were derived from a separate episodic work, dealing particularly with this incident, that they were survivals of the lay literature about the *Tristan* legend, so widespread in France. G2 helps to confirm the view that the episode of *Tristan fou* played its part in the development of the theme of the story; and must have existed in the Archetype. The recognition, in spite of disguise, by means of the presentation of the love token, is one of the striking instances brought forward by the author of the romance to prove the durability and the power of the love of Tristan and Iseut. It is precisely in that function that the episode appears in G2.

G2 is valuable in the question of the contents of the Archetype in this scene. The extant accounts vary greatly. O and R, with great similarity, narrate Tristan's journey to Cornwall in disguise; and his jests with Mark and Iseut, in which he audaciously reveals much that he and Iseut alone can know. Chided and then struck by Iseut for his presumption, he reveals himself to her by showing her ring when they are alone. She recognises him and welcomes him at once. In T, Tristan confides the ring to Kaherdin, who journeys to Iseut, but the feature of instant recognition of Tristan's messenger by means of the ring is retained. The fragment of B breaks off long before the recognition scene. In the *Folie Tristan* poems notable variations occur; the ring has less efficacity than in T, O and R. In Fb, the welcome given to the hero by Husdent plays almost as much part in convincing Iseut as the showing of the ring; the recognition follows principally from the former manifestation.

> " Ysiaut conut bien l'anelet
> Et vit la joie del brechet
> Que il fait, a poi ne s'anrage.
> Or s'aperçoit en son corage
> C'est Tristans a cui el parole " (v. 540—544).

In Fd the ring does not even suffice: someone else might have secured it from Tristan. The showing of the ring only tortures her more than ever:—

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" Ysolt le prent, si l'esguardat,
Si s'escreve dunc a plurer
Ses poinz detort, quidat desver :
' Lasse ' fait ele ' mar nasqui !
En fin ai perdu mun ami,
Kar ço sai je ben, s'il vif fust,
Ke autre hum cest anel n'eüst ' " (vv. 960—966).

and Tristan has to speak to her in his natural voice before she knows him.

G2 helps to show that the fundamental part of this episode is the extreme efficacy of the ring as a symbol of their love. There is all the more probability, therefore, that the recognition by the ring was instant and complete in the Archetype as in G2. It is significant that O, R and G2 all relate the actual recognition in a few brief and effective words; in G2 :—

" E quant ele lo tec, coinut lassaz " (v. 7842).

in R :—

" Quant Yseult voit l'anel et l'ot ainsi parler, si le congneut " (MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 103. fol. 376v°).

These, in all probability, reproduce fairly accurately the version of the Archetype, where the ring fulfils its function of an instant and efficacious token of love, where Iseut remains true to the promise made (in the version of B) to do whatever Tristan should require, if the request were accompanied by the presentation of the ring. The rôle of Husdent in this part of Fb, and the hesitation of Iseut after the presentation of the ring, in Fd, seem in all probability additions to the version of the Archetype, and perversions of its nature. The " chanson de geste ", too, confirms the feature in O and R that Tristan returned disguised, if not as a fool, at least in garb that excited the ridicule of the palace. Girart is almost turned out by the clerk of the palace, who scorns him and sneers at him, just as the courtiers gibe at the fool with the cheese. This makes the recognition of the hero all the more difficult; and it seems that in the Archetype, as in G2, O and R, every circumstance was intentionally combined to make the recognition of the hero as difficult as possible; to reveal in the most striking manner the power of the talismanic ring, and the faith of love in the face of the sorest trial. In G2 this is still more remarkable, as Elissent has heard long ago from trustworthy merchants that Girart is dead; they say they have heard it from his wife's own lips. Elissent, indeed, has reason to lament, as

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Iseut does in Fd,[1] that a stranger must have secured her lover's ring; but she does not; the token of their love convinces her at once, as it convinces Iseut in O and R; and G2, O, R, all concur in describing in similar language[2] the suddenness of the recognition, and the unhesitating warmth of the welcome.

These two scenes would, in the Archetype, contain the following. On the return from the forest (B, Fb, T, R) the two are about to part (G2, B, Fb, T, R); Tristan having given Iseut Husdent in memory of him (B, O, Fb), Iseut gives him a ring (G2, B, Fb, T); and begs him to keep it ever in memory of her eternal love (G2, B, T). "If you ever wish anything of me, send this ring: I will not fail you" (B, Fb, T). The parting comes soon (G2, Fb, T, R); and years of separation follow (G2, O, Fb, T, R). Finally Tristan, who cannot live without seeing Iseut (O, Fb, R), returns disguised in contemptible garb (G2, O, Fb, R). He is admitted to the palace although several revile him and scorn him, and try to turn him away (G2, O, Fb, R). At first he only meets the Queen in the company of Mark (O, Fb, R); even there he ventures to prate of all the secrets of their past life, known only to them, in the hope of revealing his identity to Iseut (O, Fb, R). The Queen, however, does not recognise him; nor even later when he sees her alone (G2, O, Fb, R); and chides him for his insolent words to her (O, Fb, R). In desperation Tristan shows the ring she had given him at parting (G2, O, Fb, R). When the Queen sees it, she knows him at once (G2, O, R): she embraces him, and kisses him again and again (G2, Fb, R).

(4) The Love Spirit of the Original "Tristan" Poem as Revealed by G2.

In the ever-changing development of society, where literary conceptions arise, flourish and die in swift succession, few themes remain the same from one century to another. Especially is this true of the Middle Ages where it was no part of art to reproduce in one's own day a subject such as it existed for earlier generations. In an age, such as the twelfth century, in which French literature

1. Vv. 960—966 (ed. Bédier), Société des anc. textes français, Paris, 1907.
2. G2, vv. 7844, 7851—7855; O, v. 8942 (ed. Lichtenstein, in Quellen und Forschungen, 1877); R, MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 103, fol. 376 vo; Löseth, Le Roman en prose de Tristan. Paris, 1891; pp. 376, 377.

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chiefly flourished in some half-dozen great literary courts, the ideals and standards, even the style made fashionable by a few poets or by some literary-minded princess, influenced the whole of literature in a way that is impossible in modern times. Everything that was written to obtain favour at the hands of these literary patrons or for the benefit of these courts of literature, was stamped with the predominant and fashionable characteristic. In the continual alterations made in themes which outlived any one literary phase, the *Tristan* legend is more striking than any; no legend so rapidly lost its original spirit in the inrush of new ideals. This original nature, which, as far as can be determined, had much in common with the French epic literature in its bleak and simple barbarism, only seems to appear in this form in one extant version, which is yet not free from touches of a later and more refined spirit.[1] Soon after the composition of the original poem, a literary ideal, new to French poets, spread northwards from the "troubadours" and "trouvères" of Provençal, until it was given, almost at one stroke, extreme and widespread popularity, in France and in England, by the facile pen of Crestien de Troyes. The union of England and the larger part of France under one family, and the close connection between several of the most prominent literary courts[2] probably facilitated the spread of Crestien's literary influence. The new spirit, known as "courtoisie", was largely concerned with love; and "amour courtois" had, indeed, certain affinities with the love spirit of the original *Tristan* romance.[3] In both the passion is extra-marital; in both it is illegal. But there the resemblance ends. Whereas in the *Tristan* romance an intensely tragic nature arises from the opposition of the claims of passion and of law, "amour courtois" sets the marriage bond aside; although its force is not despised, it presents no obstacle to love. The love in the *Tristan* romance is elemental, almost supernatural, while "amour courtois" is limited by precepts and refined by scruples. In "courtoisie" a great interest arises in the psychological analysis of love, in the portrayal in detail of its effects on certain individuals, who in themselves possess no interest. Writers were no longer content with telling a

1. See Béroul, vv. 1265—1270, where, in deference to more refined scruples, in contrast to Eilhart, the author makes Tristan too courtly to kill lepers. Eilhart's version may very probably represent the original.
2. Principally those in Limousin, Poitou, Normandy, Paris, Champagne, and London. See also pp. 69—72.
3. See pp. 4—7.

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simple tale; at each interesting situation they loved to discuss and analyse the psychology.

The *Tristan* romance was already, in the first extant version, in process of alteration under the force of this fresh literary conception. Thomas, as far as can be ascertained from the extant fragments of his work and from his derivatives, seems to have been largely interested in the situation after Tristan's marriage with Iseut of the White Hands, and to have softened the harsher and more barbaric features of the romance. He analyses at great length the psychology of Tristan, Mark, Iseut of Cornwall, and Iseut of Brittany; and loves to discuss which of the four is the most unhappy. He appears to have mitigated Mark's hostility to the lovers, and to have transformed the forest life into an idyllic paradise. Eilhart's version is comparatively free from the spirit of "courtoisie", which the German poet did not apparently understand; but he seems to have failed to comprehend the spirit of the original, and although telling his tale simply and frankly, to have infused it, as Muret considers,[1] with the spirit of the German national epics. In the Prose Romance, the original spirit is often extremely altered, and always hidden in a mass of additional material coloured by the ideal of chivalry. The fragment of Béroul alone preserves a passion which, from its simplicity and elemental greatness, has been held to represent the spirit of the original poem. Proof of this has, however, always been wanting, as the first extant version contradicts the evidence of Béroul with regard to the spirit of the original. Since Béroul is posterior to Thomas, it cannot be proved, on its own evidence alone, to have preserved the love spirit of the original, as Thomas is so different in spirit, and wrote probably twenty years before Béroul.

To this difficulty *Girart de Roussillon* brings valuable evidence in support of the authenticity of Béroul. G2 is prior to the version of Thomas, yet G2 preserves a love spirit kindred to that in Béroul. There is no longer any doubt that the first extant derivative, G2, preserves the love spirit of the original fairly accurately, and that it was followed in this by Béroul some twenty-five to thirty-five years later. Thomas not being the first extant derivative of the Archetype, can be considered with all the more probability to have altered or modified the spirit of the original, since the first derivative was as free as Béroul from

1. "Eilhart d'Oberg et sa source française", Rom. XVI., 1887, p. 288 seqq.

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the forms of "courtoisie" to which Thomas endeavoured, not with complete success, to shape the *Tristan* romance. The author of G2, like Béroul, possessed the art of relating a love story simply and clearly, without the interpolation of his own discussions of the psychology of a situation, without the irrelevant addition of his own philosophising. The love spirit they describe is suited to their art; it is also great and simple, free from complexity or elaboration; it is everlasting, owing no allegiance to the marriage law, whose standards of justification are far below its own; a love whose all-compelling force is weakened by no artificial refinement or scruple.

The everlasting power of the passion is demonstrated by its triumph over every conceivable form of opposition; and this is revealed far more strikingly in G2 and in B than in T. In G2 and B the greatest hostility is shown to love; the King's marriage to the bride whom the hero loves at once raises a barrier between the pair of lovers; the hero is driven to solitude and misery by the opposition of the King; yet love is powerful over all these trials; whereas in Thomas the hostility of the King is weakened, so that the lovers' course is far more pleasant, and the departure to the Morois becomes a free choice of the lovers, a welcome flight, from the restraints imposed on passion by society and law, to a life where the rights of passion alone exist.

Girart de Roussillon also shows that in the parts of the *Tristan* romance where the fragment of Béroul is not extant, the spirit of the original was nearer to that revealed in Béroul than to that in Thomas. Béroul does not contain the scenes of the beginning of the passion, nor those of the separation and of the marriage to another, so dear to Thomas; but *Girart de Roussillon* has parallels to both of these. It is true that Eilhart's poem contains a fairly complete account of these scenes, comparatively free from the elaboration of Thomas: but the determination of the amount of the original spirit in Eilhart is difficult, because it necessitates the estimation of the influence of the German national epic on Eilhart, which seems to have altered considerably in his work the French spirit of the legend. With *Girart de Roussillon* no such difficulty exists; its simplicity in these scenes may well indicate a faithful reproduction of the spirit of the Archetype. In the declaration of love, for instance, Thomas elaborates the scene[1] where Tristan feigns to mis-

1. See p. 60.

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understand Iseut's avowal of love for him; and plays on the three possible meanings of her words: love, bitterness, the sea, such intellectual refinements, mere literary devices, are absent in G2. Girart demands almost bluntly of Elissent whether her love is given to him or to the King; and Elissent replies briefly and simply, "eu am plus tei" (v. 463). Love is too great and simple, life is too full of suffering, for such displays of wit as in Thomas.

The marriage of the hero to another princess than the one he loves was a theme admirably suited to the detailed analysis of human psychology, in which lie Thomas' greatest artistic qualities. It is all the more likely, therefore, that he should be dominated by the conception of "courtoisie" in these scenes, to the perversion of the original spirit of the romance. G2, however, reveals that the Archetype did not possess this subtle, intellectual analysis as we find it in Thomas, even though the evidence of the extant versions combines to show that the Archetype, in this part, had features nearer to "courtoisie" than the bleak realism of its earlier part. It is because Thomas' version is unreliable, because that of Eilhart is less simple and concise than in the earlier parts of the narrative; because the version of Béroul does not contain this latter part, and because the indications of the original spirit given in the Prose Romance are slight and obscured, that *Girart de Roussillon* in this part is a valuable derivative. There is little hesitation about marrying another for the sake of the loved princess in Girart; he does not debate, as Tristan does in Thomas, whether he ought to marry or not. The Iseut of Cornwall in Thomas, who learns of Tristan's marriage with Iseut of the White Hands, and whose love for him declines in consequence, already tends to appear as the lady of "amour courtois", exacting unerring fidelity from the lover, and piqued if this devotion weakens. But Elissent, though she is married to the King, and Girart has taken another bride, still declares: "Plus laim ke mon paire ne mō seinor" (v. 587); and twenty-two years or more of separation make no difference to her love; when Girart returns "En is loc fu girarz set ueiz baisaz" (v. 7844); a warmth of welcome again revealed in the beautiful lines:—

"E lo baiset girart pres lo per col
E fu li bon asaz camar le sol
E trait la une part de soz laruol,
E demandat li ço que auir uol
E com il li contet el en a dol" (vv. 7851—7855).

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This is far removed from Thomas' Queen who lets herself be persuaded by the hostility of Brangien to Tristan, so that, like Girart before the lord's house during exile, he is turned away, and is compelled to lie in poverty and distress outside.[1]

Girart de Roussillon is, therefore, the only extant derivative of the Archetype before the spread of the ideal of "courtoisie" over all French literature, to which the legend of Tristan and Iseut was already inclined in the poem of Thomas. Just after Thomas, Crestien's literary influence strengthened the vogue of the new conception. The legend of *Tristan* was already in the original poem a drama of extra-marital, illegal passion, which therefore lent itself easily to treatment in the ideal of "amour courtois". It is evident how the quadruple situation of Mark, Iseut, Tristan and Iseut of the White Hands provided admirable themes for the artistic talent of Thomas. The comparative adaptability of the *Tristan* legend to the "courtois" ideal, and later to the love of adventure for its own sake, and to the conception of chivalry, helps to explain why the legend so soon lost the original spirit of its passion. Beyond the fragment of Béroul, which largely escaped the "courtois" influence,—possibly because it was a "jongleur" version, not written at the request of some literary princess—*Girart de Roussillon* alone preserves the love spirit of the original romance. No evidence of the powerful attraction of this great drama of passion is more striking than that a poet, in the region in which the Archetype was written, where Tristan and Iseut have so often been cited as the perfect lovers, should have endeavoured to portray this passion, difficult as the task was, in an epic legend.

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1. See Bédier, "Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas", t. I., p. 368, v. 1870, note.

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APPENDIX.

A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF *GIRART DE ROUSSILLON.*

The Bibliography is divided into five sections: Manuscripts, Editions, Bibliography of Girart in History, Bibliography of Medieval Allusions to the Legend, and Critical Works. The sections on Manuscripts and Editions are each sub-divided into five sections: The Latin *Vita,* the extant "chanson de geste", the "roman en alexandrins", Wauquelin's history, and later "remaniements" of Wauquelin's history.

The Bibliography is in alphabetical order, except for the Section "Editions", where chronological order is observed.

References to numbers placed within square brackets refer to the numbers of the Bibliography.

I.

MANUSCRIPTS.

(1) THE LATIN *VITA GERARDI* WITH THE OLD BURGUNDIAN TRANSLATION.

1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 13090.

Thirteenth century; O^{m}276 x O^{m}210; parchment; 177 leaves; the *Life of Girart de Roussillon* occupies 5 leaves (fol 2r°—fol 6v°).

Fol. 2r°, *vita Girardi de rosillon.*

Begins (fol. 2r°): . . . *duerunt facies eorum tanquam sol. quos eciam rex amplectus.*

Ends (fol. 6v°): *qui semper cum patre et spiritu sancto trinus et unus deus regnas et vivis in secula seculorum. amen.*

2. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1329 (1733 in A. Molinier's Catalogue des mss de la Bibliothèque Mazarine, t. II., pp. 203—208. Paris 1886).

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1448; paper; O^{m}280 x O^{m}205; 421 leaves (fol. 292 is double). Entitled *Secunda pars diversarum legendarum.* Begins: *Deifice Trinitatis clemencia.* Fol. 186: *Vita venerabilis Gyrardi de Rosillun qui fuit de sanguine Karolidarum affinis.* Begins, fol. 186: *Benedictus Deus qui habundancia.* Ends, fol. 190v°: *Explicit vita venerabilis Gyrardi de Rosillun et beate Berte conjugis ejus.*

A MS. of the Latin *Vita,* undiscovered when P. Meyer published the *Life* in Romania VII., pp. 161—235 [see n° 180]. The discovery of it and its value are discussed by Meyer in Romania XVI., pp. 103—105 [see n° 188]. It is written in two different hands; and a footnote to fol. 379v° explains that in the fifteenth century it belonged to the College of Korssendonck in Brabant.

3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 13496 (formerly ancien supplément français 6325).

Thirteenth century; O^{m}256 x O^{m}170; 305 leaves; parchment; the *Life of Girart de Roussillon* occupies 17 leaves (fol. 217r°—fol. 233r°). Written in two columns. Red and blue illuminated initials.

Fol. 217r°: *Ci comance la vie de Girart de Rossillon translatee de latin en françois* (in red lettering).

Begins: *Ce sont li fait dou tres noble conte Girart de Rossillon.*

Ends (fol. 233r°): *et il meismes fist savoir a touz comment la misericorde de deu lavoit deslie par les prieres de la beneuree Marie magdalene la disciple nostre Seignor ihucrist Explicit Explicit*

(2) THE TWELFTH CENTURY "CHANSON DE GESTE" OF *GIRART DE ROUSSILLON.*

4. London, British Museum, Harley 4334. CXIII.; vellum; O^{m}172 x O^{m}112; 58 leaves.

Begins, fol. 1: *Dex lor mostre miracle qui fu castiz.*

Ends, fol, 58v°: *E li reis fu a treies qui semonit.*

Contains 3,480 verses. Its beginning corresponds with fol. 40r°, last line, of the Oxford MS. [see No. 5]. Leaves missing after fol. 24, fol. 30, fol. 37, fol. 43, cause large gaps; especially the absence of the passage corresponding to fol. 97r°, line 15—fol. 130r°, line 17, in the Oxford MS [see No. 5]. [For this London MS. see No. 230, vol. I., pp. 663—670].

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5. Oxford, Bodleian Library. Canonici Miscellanea 63.

Middle of the thirteenth century; parchment; O^{m}258 x O^{m}133; 175 leaves; the last two, and fol. 173v° are blank.

Begins, fol. 1: *Bone cancone uille uos aiaduche.*

Ends, fol. 173r°: *Tu autem domine desia en auant.*

The most complete MS. of the extant "chanson de geste". It contains 10,002 lines. It has been used by P. Meyer for his translation of the "chanson" [see No. 186]. The best edition of it is that of Förster [see No. 35]. It was probably written in North Italy. A note in modern writing in pencil at the top of fol. 175v° states that fol. "87 and 88 do not belong to the MS.—they are by a later hand, supplying omissions of the previous one".

6. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 2180.

Middle of the thirteenth century; vellum; O^{m}185 x O^{m}115; 117 leaves. Fol. 117 is blank. Red and blue illuminated initials. Fol. 1 contains a note at the top in handwriting of the late sixteenth century, showing that it then belonged to Pierre Dupuy.

Begins (fol. 1r°):

Lo reierme de Fransa desfai e despersona
E ieu no i ai plus de lhiu que la corona

Ends (fol. 116v°):

Si cum fo per molt amet lo tant proatz
E duret de LX o plus assatz

7. Passy, formerly in the possession of Paul Meyer.

Thirteenth century; a fragment of five leaves, two very badly damaged; 33 verses to a page; and containing in all 330 verses. Formerly formed a cover to a fourteenth-century register belonging to the study of a notary of Anduze; and was discovered as such by Achille Lebrethon in 1867.

(3) THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY "ROMAN EN ALEXANDRINS".

8. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 11181.

Fifteenth century; paper; O^{m}216 x O^{m}145; 113 leaves. *Cy apres sensuit le romant Girart de Rossillon duc de Bourgoingne et de plusieurs aultrez pais.*

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Begins :

La chose qui plus fait toute gent resioyr
Cest des diz et des fais des bons parler oyr.

Ends :

Que cilz dui soient saint neu vuil a nul plaidier
Ainsin com je le croy me vuille dieux aidier
Amen

A fairly complete MS. of the " roman en alexandrins ", formerly part of the Library of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy.

9. Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, H 349.

Largely C.XIV. (the first 6 leaves, badly mutilated or lost, have been replaced in the C.XVIII. by 6 leaves containing the text in the missing C.XIV. leaves); vellum; $O^m220 \times O^m160$; 103 leaves.

Beginning of part copied in C.XVIII. :

La chose qui plus fait toutes gens resjoir

Beginning of part written in C.XIV., fol. 9r° :

quanc vient es grans estorers bien resemble Fouchier
Le maresthault Girard ne le tient pas pour chier

Ends, fol. 103r° :

que cils duy soient saint nam vils a nul plaidier
ainssint comme je le crois me vuille Dieu aidier
Amen Amen Amen

A very incomplete manuscript of the " roman en alexandrins ". Several leaves here and there are missing. It formerly belonged to the Cathedral of Sens.

10. Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine H 244. (Formerly fonds de Bouhier D 13).

C. XV.; vellum and paper; 20 leaves vellum, 113 paper (usually 2 vellum leaves are followed by 6, 12 or 14 paper ones). $O^m280 \times O^m210$; 133 leaves; the " roman " occupies the first 126 leaves; the rest being composed of sundry notes.

Begins, fol. 1r° :

La chose qui plus fait toutes gens resjoir

Ends, fol. 126r° :

que cils duy soient sains nam vuils a nuls plaidier
Ainssin comme je le crois me vuille Dieu aidier
Explicit.

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The first seven verses of the text are written on fol. 1r° beneath a miniature, O^m180 x O^m120, of the C. XV., representing an armed knight riding at the gallop on a horse with rich trappings.

11. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 15103 (formerly ancien supplément français 254).

1416; O^m217 x O^m142; paper; 144 leaves.

Cest le romant de Gerart de Roucillon ducq de Bourgogne

Begins (fol. 2r°): *Nulz ne luy doit tollir*

Ends (fol. 144v°): . . *ou lieu ou je*

A copy executed by Eude Savestrot, priest, at Chatillon-sur-Seine.

12. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3322.

C. XVIII.; paper; O^m368 x O^m245; 213 pages. A copy made for Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, with his corrections and notes, of the MS. of President Bouhier D. 14 (now Bibliothèque de la Ville de Troyes, 742 [see No. 13].

Begins:

Chose qui plus fait toutes gens sesiouir
Cest des dits et des faits des bons parler ouir

Ends:

que cils deux soient sainz nen vueilz a nulz plaidier
ainssin com ie le crois me vueille Dieu aidier

13. Troyes, Bibliothèque de la Ville de Troyes, 742.

1721, according to a note on the title page stating that it was copied in that year; paper; O^m280 x O^m190; 304 pages and two leaves at the beginning.

Begins, page 1:

Chose qui plus fait toutes gens sesiouir
Cest des dits et des faits des bons parler ouir

Ends, page 304:

que cils deux soient saints nen vueils a nulz plaidier
ainssin com ie le crois me veuille Dieu aidier

This MS. is apparently a copy made by Jean Bouhier (1673—1746) in 1721 of the MS, Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, H 244 [see No. 10].

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(4) JEAN WAUQUELIN'S HISTORY OF *GIRART DE ROUSSILLON* IN PROSE (1447).

14. Beaune, l'Hôtel-Dieu de Beaune.

End of fifteenth century; paper; O^{m}320 x O^{m}220; 250 leaves.

Croniques des faiz de feurent monseigneur Girart de Rossillon a son vivant duc de Bourgoingne & de Dame Berte sa femme fille du conte de Sans que Martin Besançon fit escripre en lan 1469.

First five leaves are blank.

Fol. 6: *Cy apres sensuit la table des chappitres du livre*

Fol. 16: *Prologue fait sur la vye du tres noble Conte Gerard de Roussillon Lacteur.*

Begins, fol. 16: *Isidoire ung notable docteur de peuple*

Ends: *Cest la benoite gloire ou il vit et regne cum deo & patre & spiritu sancto unus deus per infinita secula Amen.*

Followed by *Cy apres sensuit une prose de sainct Badilon*

Ending *In celesti curia Amen.*

And by *Ballade faicte par Lacteur*

Beginning *Lan XIV. cens accomplis*

Ending *Phelippe de Bourgoigne seigneur*

15. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 852.

Fifteenth century; paper; O^{m}294 x O^{m}212; 210 leaves. Red and blue initials and titles. Fol. 1r° only contains: *Histoire de Girard de Roussillon, translatee de latin en françois lan 1447 par ordre de Philippe duc de Bourgoigne.*

Begins (fol 1v°): *Ysidore ung notable docteur*

Ends (fol. 210v°): *Cy fine la cronique de monseigneur Gerad de Roussillon.*

16. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 12568.

End of the fifteenth century (the handwriting varies throughout the MS): paper; O^{m}285 x O^{m}204; 212 leaves; fol. 72, and several at the beginning and end, are blank.

Fol. 1—fol. 7v°: *table.*

Begins (fol. 8r°): *Cy apres sensuit la table des chappitres du livre et de listoire de Monseigneur Girard de Rossillon.*

Ends: *Encores ung autre miracle que puect entrer Lactour.*

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17. Vienna, National-Bibliothek, 2549.

C. XV.; O^{m}398 x O^{m}300; 194 parchment and 6 paper leaves (two at the beginning, and four at the end, all blank).

Fol. 1r° : *Cy aprez sensuit la table des chappitres . . .*

Fol. 5v° : *Sensuit le prologue fait sur la vie du tresnoble conte Girard de Roussillon dit lacteur.*

Text begins, fol. 7v° : *Comment les fais de monseigneur Girard de Roussillon sont en plusieurs lieux escrips et espars*

Ends, fol. 191v° : *Cest la benoite gloire ou Il vit et regne cum deo patre et spiritu sancto unus deus per infinita secula amen*

Followed by :—

Fol. 191v° : *Cy aprez sensuit une prose de saint Badilon . . .*

Fol. 192r° : *Balade Faitte par lacteur*

Ending, fol. 192r° : *Quen tous biens ait accroissement Phelippe de Bourgoigne seigneur.*

(5) LATER ABBREVIATIONS OF JEAN WAUQUELIN'S HISTORY.

18. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 6. (History of Charles Martel and his successors. Tome I.).

C. XV. (1463); parchment; O^{m}410 x O^{m}295; 562 leaves. The history of Girart de Roussillon occupies fol. 396r°—fol. 562v°.

Fol. 1r° : *La table des rubriches de cest present volume parlant des fais du duc Gloriant de Berry de la naissance et regne de son filz Charles Martel et dautres besongnes comme des haultes vaillances de luy du prince Gerard de Roncillon et de leurs guerres et adventures.*

Fol 9r° : *Prologue declairant quy a fait grosser cestuy volume et autres trois*

Fol. 9v° : *Prologue de lacteur.*

Fol. 396r° : *Comment Charles Martel et Gerard de Roncillon occirent et bouterent les Sarrazins hors de France quilz vouloient occuper.*

Begins : *Listoire ancienne racompte que comme nouvelles sont tost espandues par les contrees*

Ends (fol. 562v°) : *Cy fine le premier des quatres volumes dessus declares ou prologue de ung chascun diceulx et en la fin*

A manuscript of an abbreviation of Jean Wauquelin's history of Girart, incorporated in a *History of Charles Martel,* compiled in 1448, enlarged in 1465.

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19. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 7. (*History of Charles Martel and of his successors.* Tome II.).

C. XV. (1465); parchment; O^{m}410 x O^{m}295; 440 leaves. The history of Girart de Roussillon occupies fol. 9v°—fol. 50r°.

Fol. 1: *La table des rubriches de ce present livre parlant des fais de Pepin roy de France de Gerard de Roncillon de Charles le Chaulve et du commencement de la guerre du Loherain Guerin et du conte Fromont de Lens.*

Fol. 8 is blank.

Fol. 9r°: *Prologue du second volume*

Fol. 9v°: *Prologue du translatteur*

Fol. 9v°: *Le proheme et histoire des haulz et vertueulz loables et puissans fais du noble duc et conte de Bourgoingne monseigneur Gerard de Roussillon.*

Begins (fol. 9v°): *Pour ce que les fais des anciens ont este de haulte recommandation*

Ends (fol. 50r°): *Cy fine le proheme et histoire des haulz et vertueulz loables et puissans fais du noble duc et conte de Bourgoigne monseigneur Gerard de Ronssillon*

Another manuscript containing an abbreviation of Wauquelin's history, incorporated in the *History of Charles Martel*, compiled in 1448, and enlarged in 1465 by David Aubert.

20. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 9233.

C. XV.; parchment; O^{m}475 x O^{m}345; 220 leaves. (Jean Mansel, *La Fleur des histoires*).

Fol. 1v°: *La table du quart volume.*

Fol. 7v°: *Quart volume de la Fleur des histoires.*

Fol. 219v°: *Conclusion de cest euvre par quoy lon peut sçavoir le nom de lacteur et cellui du livre present.* The history of Girart de Roussillon occupies fols. 103r°—121v°.

Begins: *En ce temps fut Gerard de Roussillon duc de Bourgoigne et daquitaine contre lequel cestui roy Charles eut guerre.*

Ends: *Cest la beneoite glore en laquelle il vit dieu et regne cum deo patre et spiritu sancto in secula seculorum. Amen.*

A MS. of Jean Mansel's abbreviation of Wauquelin's history in his *La Fleur des histoires.*

21. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 9260.

C. XV.; paper and parchment; O^{m}394 x O^{m}285; 279 leaves, fol. 11 and 22 are parchment. (Jean Mansel, *La Fleur des histoires*).

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Fol. 1r° : *La table du quart et derrenier volume.*

Fols. 8, 9, 10 are blank.

Fol. 11 : *Le quart volume du livre nomme La Fleur des hystores.*

Fol. 278 : *Conclusion de ce present volume par quoy len peut cognoistre les noms de lacteur et du livre.*

The twenty-seven chapters of the history of Girart de Roussillon occupy fols. 130—153.

Begins and ends as MS. 9233 of the same library [see No. 20].

Another MS. of Jean Mansel's abbreviation of Jean Wauquelin's prose history of Girart, incorporated in Mansel's *La Fleur des histoires.*

22. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 304. [Jean Mansel's *La Fleur des histoires.*]

End of the fourteenth century; folio volume; 334 leaves; 292 leaves alone are numbered (fol. 12—fol. 304). Writing in two columns.

Fol. 1r° : *Cy commence le quart volume du livre nomme la fleur des histores*

Begins (fol. 145v°) : *Cy commence listore de monseigneur Gerard de Roussillon jadis duch et conte de Bourgoingne et de Acquitaine*

Ends (fol. 334) : *Cest la beneoite glore en laquelle il vit dieu et regne Cum deo patre et spiritu sancto in secula seculorum. Amen.*

II.

EDITIONS.

(1) THE LATIN *VITA GERARDI,* INCLUDING THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY BURGUNDIAN TRANSLATION.

1878.

23. *Meyer, Paul.* La légende de Girart de Roussillon, Romania, VII., 1878.

PP. 177v°—223v°. A publication of the text of the Latin *Vita Gerardi de Rossellon* according to the Paris MS. [see No. 1].

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24. *Meyer, Paul.* La légende de Girart de Roussillon, Romania, VII. 1878. PP. 179—231.

PP. 179r°—225r°. A publication of the C. XIII. Burgundian translation of the Latin *Vita,* according to the Paris MS. [see No. 3].

PP. 225—231. A vocabulary of the Burgundian translation and notes.

(2) THE TWELFTH CENTURY "CHANSON DE GESTE".

1694.

25. *Caseneuve, Pierre de.* Les origines de la langue Françoise, avec quelques remarques et une preface, contenant la vie de l'auteur par Simon de Val-Hébert : à la suite du Dictionnaire Etymologique de G. Ménage. Paris, 1694, folio.

P. 48. Quotation of some verses of *Girart de Roussillon* from the Paris MS. [see No. 6].

1816.

26. *Raynouard, François-Juste-Marie.* Lexique Roman ou Dictionnaire de la Langue des Troubadours, comparée avec les autres langues de l'Europe latine, précédé de nouvelles recherches historiques et philologiques, d'un résumé de la Grammaire Romane, d'un nouveau choix des poésies originales des Troubadours. 6 tom. Paris, 1816—1821. 8°.

T. I. pp. 174—224. Extracts of *Girart de Roussillon* from the Paris MS. [see No. 6]. Raynouard briefly analyses the story of the poem, supplementing it by the quotation of the extracts, and adding an appreciation of its qualities.

1839.

27. *Michel, Francisque.* Collection de Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, publiés par ordre du roi, et par les soins du ministre de l'instruction publique. Rapports au ministre. Paris, 1839. 4°. 370 pp.

PP. 174—185. Publication of fol. 1—fol. 7r° and of the last eleven lines of the London MS. [see No. 4].

PP. 202—203. Publishes the first nine and the last twelve verses of the Oxford MS [see No. 5] ; which, however he names Bodl. Can. Misc. 94, and which he declares to contain 9,937 verses (instead of 10,002).

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1856.

28. *Mahn, Dr. C. A. F.* Gedichte der Troubadours, in provenzalischer Sprache, zum ersten mahl und treu nach den Handschriften herausgegeben und mit Kritischen Anmerkungen versehen von C. A. F. Mahn, Dr. Erster Band. Berlin, Duemller, Paris, Franck, and London, Williams and Norgate, 1856. 14°. VI.—280 pp.

PP. 217—232. Publication of the first seventy-seven tirades of the extant "chanson" in the Oxford MS. [see No. 5]. A far from accurate edition; printed in prose without indications of the beginning or end of the verses, and entirely without notes. It has now been superseded by Förster's edition [see No. 35]. Mahn also numbers the MS. Bodl. Can. Misc. 94 [instead of Bodl. Can. Misc. 63].

29. *Michel, Francisque.* [Edition of] Gérard de Roussillon, chanson de geste ancienne. Publiée en provençal et en français d'après les manuscrits de Paris et de Londres par F. Michel. Bibliothèque elzévirienne. Paris, 1856. 8°.

PP. 1—285. An edition of *Girart de Roussillon* from the Paris MS. [see No. 6]; an extremely defective edition, now superseded by that of Hofmann [see No. 30]; see also the notes by Apfelstedt [No. 103].

PP. 285—396. An edition of *Girart de Roussillon* from the London MS. [see No. 4]. Again a very faulty edition, now superseded by that of Stürzinger [see No. 36]. Six verses in the MS. (1497—1499, 1503, 2371, 2978) are omitted by Michel: while about 550 incorrect readings are given.

1857.

30. *Hofmann, Dr. Conrad.* [Edition of] *Girartz de Rossilho* nach der Pariser Handschrift herausgegeben von Dr. Conrad Hofmann. Berlin. 1857 in 12°. [forming] Epische Abtheilung. Band I. [of] Die Werke der Troubadours in provenzalischer Sprache, mit einer Grammatik und einem Wörterbuch, herausgegeben von Carl A. F. Mahn. V. Bande. Berlin. 1846—1886, in 12°.

An edition of the text according to the Paris MS [see No. 6], rectifying several of the errors in Michel's edition [see no. 29], but still not free from many defects.

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1868.

31. *Bartsch, Karl.* Chrestomathie provençale. 2me édition. Elberfeld, 1868.

Columns 33—44. Publication of vv. 1909—2049, and vv. 6639—6943 of the text of the Paris MS. [see No. 6] according to Hofmann's edition [see No. 30].

1869.

32. Revue de Gascogne, 1869—1873.

Publication of fragments of the first quarter of the extant "chanson" according to the Oxford MS. [see No. 5]. The publication of these fragments is recorded by Paul Meyer [see No. 188. Avant-Propos, second page].

1874.

33. *Meyer, Paul.* Recueil d' Anciens Textes Bas-Latins, Provençaux et Français, accompagné de deux glossaires et publiés par Paul Meyer. 2 parties. Paris, Franck, 1874—1877, 4°. 384 pp. 1re partie, pp. 44—69. [Edition of] *Girart de Roussillon.*

Edition of 655 lines of the extant "chanson" from a comparative study of the Oxford [see No. 5], the Paris [see No. 6] and the London [see No. 4] MSS.—with the various readings given in footnotes.

1878.

34. *Schweppe, Karl.* Etudes sur Girart de Rossilho, chanson de geste provençale, suivis de la partie inédite du manuscrit d'Oxford par Karl Schweppe, docteur-ès-lettres. Stettin, Dannenberg, 1878. In 8°, 52 pp.

Sixteen pages of Introduction: eight are devoted to a select bibliography; eight to scattered observations on the relations of the various manuscripts. Followed by a publication of 1074 verses of the Oxford manuscript [see No. 5], made with very little knowledge of the language of the poem, and containing many faults. The 1,074 verses are verses 7874—8948 of Förster's edition [see No. 35]. [For Review see No. 183.]

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1880.

35. *Förster, Wendelin.* [Edition of] *Girart de Rossillon* nach Oxford Can. 63. Bemerkungen von Wendelin Förster. Romanische Studien, herausgegeben von Eduard Boehmer. Fünfter Band. Heft XVII. Bonn, E. Weber. 1880.

PP. 1—193. A valuable edition of the "chanson de geste" from the Oxford MS [see No. 5].

PP. 193—197. Description of the Oxford MS, with useful criticism of Mahn's publication of the text [see No. 28].

PP. 197—202. Textual notes to the edition, containing useful material, which would have been more convenient if placed at the foot of each page of the edition. [For Review see No. 187.]

36. *Stürzinger, J.* [Edition of] Der Londoner *Girart* mit Bemerkungen von J. Stürzinger. Romanische Studien, herausgegeben von Eduard Boehmer. 5 Band. Heft XVII. Bonn, 1880.

PP. 203—282. An Edition of the London MS [see No. 4], correcting many of the errors in the previous edition by F. Michel [see No. 29]. PP. 280—282, detailed description of the MS. and its handwriting. [For review see No. 187.]

1889.

37. *Chabaneau, Camille.* Fragments d'un manuscrit de *Girart de Rossillon.* Revue des Langues Romanes, 4e série, tome III., pp. 133—136, 1889.

Publication of two leaves of a poem on Girart de Roussillon. Chabaneau does not attempt to determine to which manuscript they belong; they apparently form part of the British Museum MS. [see No. 4]. [For Review see No. 193].

1895.

38. *Appel Carl.* Provenzalische Chrestomathie, mit Abriss der Formenlehre und Glossar, von C. Appel. Leipzig, Reisland. 1895. 4°, XLI—344 pp.

PP. 1—12. [Edition of] *Girart de Rossillon.*

An edition of 732 lines (vv. 6217—6949 of Förster's edition [see No. 35]) of the extant "chanson" from a comparative study of the Oxford [see No. 5], the Paris [see No. 6], and the London [see No. 4] MSS., with valuable footnotes on the various readings.

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(3) THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY "ROMAN EN ALEXANDRINS" OF *GIRART DE ROUSSILLON.*

1835.

39. *Mone, Franz Joseph.* [in] Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Mittelalters, herausgegeben von H von Aufsess und F. J. Mone. Munich, 1832.

Third year, 1835. Columns 208—222. Publication of several pieces of the "Roman en Alexandrins" of *Girart de Roussillon,* from the MS. at Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 11181. [See No. 8].

1858.

40. *Mignard, Thomas Joachim Alexander Prosper.* [Edition of] Le roman en vers du très excellent, puissant et noble homme Girart de Rossillon, jadis duc de Bourgogne, publié pour la première fois, d'après les manuscrits de Paris, de Sens et de Troyes, avec de nombreuses notes philologiques et neuf dessins, suivi de l'histoire des premiers temps féodaux, par Mignard. Paris, Techener; and Dijon. 1858. 8°. XLVIII—458 pp.

An edition of the C. XIV. "roman en alexandrins" from the various manuscripts [see Nos. 8—13]. A far from reliable edition. [For Review see No. 166.]

(4) JEAN WAUQUELIN'S HISTORY, 1447.

1880.

41. *Montille, Luc de.* [Edition of] Chronicques des faiz de feurent Monseigneur Girart de Rossillon a son vivant duc de Bourgoigne, et de dame Berthe sa femme, fille du comte de Sans, que Martin Besançon fist escripre en l'an M. CCCCLXIX. Publiées pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Beaune [see No. 14] augmentées des variantes des autres versions, enrichies de facsimile, et précédées d'une introduction, par L de Montille. Société d'histoire, d'archéologie et de littérature de Beaune. Paris, Champion, 1880. 8°. XL.—586 pp.

A very defective edition of Wauquelin's work: the editor has not compared the work with its sources, and therefore throws no light on the problems of *Girart de Roussillon.* [For Review see No. 186].

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(5) LATER ABBREVIATIONS OF WAUQUELIN'S HISTORY.

42. *Arnoullet, Olivier* [Edition of]. S'ensuyt l'hystoire de Monseigneur Gerard de Roussillon, iadis duc et conte de Bourgongne et d' Acquitaine. Lyons [undated].

An edition of J. Mansel's history of Girart in his *Fleur des histoires.* [See No. 20]. An example (now in the Bibliothèque publique de Grenoble) of this undated edition is mentioned by Brunet [see No. 118].

1520.

43. *Michel Le Noir.* [Edition of] L'hystoire de monseigneur Gerard de Roussillon, iadis duc & côte de Bourgongne et d'Acquitaine. Imprimée nouuellement a paris par Michel lenoir libraire iure en luniversité de paris demourant en la grant rue sainct Jacques a lenseigne de la Roze blanche couronnee. Lan mil cinq cens & XX. le xxiij jour de decembre. Paris, 1520.

An edition of Mansel's history of Girart in his *Fleur des histoires* [see No. 20]. An example of this edition is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Réserve, 8°. Y² 25.

1760.

44. *Sinner, Johannes Rodolphus, bibliothecarius Bernensis.* Catalogus codicum MSS. Bibliothecae Bernensis, annotationibus criticis illustratis. 3 voll. Bernæ. 1760—1762. 8°.

Vol. II., p. 188—215. Sinner notes a MS. of Jean Mansel's *Fleur des Histoires* [see No. 22]; and publishes the beginning of it.

1856.

45. *Perrin, Louis.* [Edition of] *Gerard de Roussillon,* s'ensuyt l'hystoire de monseigneur Gerard de Roussillon, jadis duc et comte de Bourgongne et d'Acquitaine. Lyons. 1856. L—149 pp.

A reprint of Arnoullet's undated edition [see No. 42] of J. Mansel's history of *Girart* in his *Fleur des histoires* [see No. 20]. The preface, probably by A. de Terrebasse, contains valuable research on the historical Girart, utilised and collected by Longnon [see No. 168].

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III.

ALLUSIONS AND REFERENCES TO THE HISTORICAL "GIRARD".

46. *Achery, J. Luc d'.* [Edition of] Veterum aliquot scriptorum spicilegium. 13 tom. Paris, 1657—1677. folio.

T. 2, p. 499, column 1. Publication of the foundation charter of the abbeys of Pothières and Vézelay, which was copied by Hugues le Poitevin, monk of Vézelay, into his *Historia Vezeliacensis cœnobii*, composed about 1150.

T. 2, pp. 500—502. Mention of a daughter of Girard and Berte, named "Eva".

47. *Aubri de Trois-Fontaines.* Chronique. [In Vol. XXIII. of] Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex monumentis Germaniæ historicis recudi fecit. G. H. Pertz, Hanover, 1839.

P. 739. The chronicle alludes to Charles and "Gerardus Viennensis", and to the disorder into which the land was thrown by their long struggles. [See also under No. 75].

48. *Baluzius, Stephanus.* Capitularia Regum Francorum. Additae sunt Marculfi monachi & aliorum formulae veteres, & notae doctissimorum virorum. 2 tom., Paris, Muguet, 1677. Folio.

Tome 1, column 1468. Baluzius mentions Girard as figuring in 858 in an assembly at Sermorens.

Tome 2, columns 1469, 1470. Quotes a charter of Charles le Chauve, with orders to Girard about the preservation of the Church of St. Maur in Vienne.

49. *Bandinius, Angelus Maria.* Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecæ Mediceæ Laurentianæ. 4 tom. Florentia. 1774—1777. Folio.

Tome I., columns 129—142. A very exact edition of a booklet, apparently coming originally from Vézelay. It is a small volume of 33 leaves: O^m284 x O^m205: handwriting, large, of the twelfth century: 26 lines a page. It contains 29 aricles of which 8 (numbers II., III., IV., V., VI., IX., X., XIV. of Bandini's edition) concern the history of Girart.

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50. *Bastard, Léon de.* Recherches sur l'Insurrection Communale de Vézelay au XII^e siècle. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 3^me série, Tome II., pp. 339—343, 1851.

An account of the historical Girart, chiefly concerned with his foundation of the Abbey of Vézelay, and his connections with it.

51. *Bénédictins de Saint-Maur.* Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, tomes IX.—XIII. par des religieux bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur. Paris, 1757—1786. Folio.

T. IX., pp. 186—187. Note on date of death of Girard: quotation of two letters of 879, both mentioning "Gerardus quondam comes".

T. XII., p. 247. Quotation of a letter (in the "Chronicon Virdunense" of Hugues de Flavigny) by Pope Adrian II., mentioning Girard as a duke.

T. XII., p. 410. Mention of Guillaume X., count of Poitiers, possessing fiefs in Burgundy, as the descendant of Girard.

52. *Bernard, A.; and Bruel, Alexandre.* Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny, formé par A. Bernard, complété, revisé et publié par A. Bruel. 6 tom. [forming tom. 1—6 of] Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. 1^ère série. Histoire politique, Paris, 1876—1894. 4°.

Tom. I., p. 20. Notice of a lawsuit held at Vienne in 870 before Girard.

53. *Beyer, Heinrich.* Urkundenbuch zur der jetzt die Preussischen Regierungen bezirke Coblenz und Trier bildenden mittelrheinischen Territorien. Aus den Quellen herausgegeben von H. Beyer. 3 Bande. [Band 2, herausgegeben von H. Beyer, L. Eltester und A. Goerz: Band 3, herausgegeben von L. Eltester und A. Goerz]. Coblenz 1860—1874. 8°.

Vol. I., p. 78. Beyer quotes a Latin charter of 842 mentioning Girard as one executor of the will of Count Richard, who was endowed by Lothaire with the villa of Villance in the Ardennes.

Vol. I., p. 106. Quotes a Latin charter of 865 mentioning Girard as "count of the palace" of the Emperor Lothaire at Aix in 842.

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54. *Bouquet, Martin.* Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France. Tomes 1—8 par M. Bouquet. Paris, 1738—1752. Folio.

T. VI., p. 301. Mentions Girard as present in 838 at the palace of Louis the Pious, Aix-la-Chapelle.

T. VII., p. 516. Quotes a letter by "Loup, abbé de Ferrières", to "Præcellentissimo duci G[erhardo] et clarissimæ conjugi ejus" on the success of Girard against the ravages of enemies.

T. VII., p. 571. Quotes a letter by Lothaire II. to Adon, received 869; approving Bernier, Girard's candidate for the bishopric of Grenoble.

T. VIII., p. 389 seqq. Quotes a Diploma of Lothaire I. mentioning Girard as residing in Lyonnais under Lothaire circa 853.

T. VIII., p. 396 seqq. Quotes a diploma granted to the Church of Lyons in 856 where Charles of Provence names Girard "Inlustrissimus comes et parens noster ac nutritor".

T. VIII., p. 397. In the above diploma Charles mentions that Girard restored several valuable properties to the Church of Lyons.

T. VIII., pp. 401—402. In the above diploma Charles mentions Girard's restoration of an island of the Rhône to the Church of Vivier; and Girard's advice to the Church of Carpentras to secure valuable properties.

T. VIII., p. 410. Quotes Diploma of Lothaire II., in which Girard has requested Lothaire for restitution, to him and to the Church of Lyons, of certain usurped property.

T. VIII., p. 608. Quotes Diploma of Charles the Bald, confirming privileges on the abbey of Vézelay: also publishes the text of the foundation Charter of Vézelay.

Bruel, Alexandre. 1876—1894. [See *Bernard, A.; and Bruel, Alexandre,* No. 52].

55. *Chorier, Nicholas.* Histoire générale du Dauphiné. 2 tom., Grenoble, Charvys, and Lyon, Thioly, 1661—1672. Folio.

Tome 1, p. 676. Note of a diploma of 863 where Lothaire carries out a certain request put forward concerning the monasteries by Girard.

56. *Dehaisnes, l'abbé C.* [Edition of] Les Annales de Saint-Bertin, et de Saint-Vaast, suivies de fragments d'une chronique inédite, publiés pour la Société de l'histoire de France par l'abbé C. Dehaisnes. Paris, 1871. 8°.

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Annis 867, 868 [pp. 171—173]. Mention of the struggles between Charles the Bald and Girart over the county of Bourges.

Anno 870 [pp. 219, 220]. Mention of Berte, wife of Girard, defending Vienne against Charles, and of the final surrender of the town to Charles.

Anno 871 [p. 220]. Mention of leave given by Charles to Girard and Berte to depart from Vienne with all their belongings: note of their crossing of the Rhône in the royal ships.

57. *Eckhart, Johann Georg.* Origines serenissimæ ac potentissimæ Habsburgo-Austriacæ ex monumentis veteribus, scriptoribus coætaneis, diplomatibus, chartisque nunc primum continua serie, ab origine prima usque ad Rudolfum imperatorem, demonstratæ a Johanno Georgio Eccardo. Lipsiæ, J. F. Gleditschii filii, 1721. Folio, 263 pp. & Index.

Column 29. E considers that the foundation charter of Vézelay [see No. 46] only mentions the parents of Girard, not those of Berte.

58. *Faillon (L'Abbé).* Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie Madeleine en Provence et sur les autres apôtres de cette contrée, Saint Lazare, Saint Maximin, Sainte Marthe, les Saintes Maries Jacobé et Salomé. Publié par M. L'Abbé Migne. 2 tom. Paris, 1859, 4°.

T. I., p. 822. Account of two texts, one of C. XIII., the other of C. XIV., narrating that Girart endowed a large number of churches with the relics of several saints.

T. II., pp. 730—748. A general account of Girart de Roussillon in history: often inaccurate. [See Nos. 68, 136, 137.]

59. *Firmin-Didot, Ambroise.* Catalogue des livres précieux, manuscrits et imprimés faisant partie de la bibliothèque de M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot—Belles-lettres—Histoire, précédé d'une introduction par M. Paulin Paris. Paris, 1878, large 8°.

P. 51, number 65. Description with illustrations of a small C. XV. manuscript ornamented with scenes from Burgundian history. The 6th scene is "Gerard de Roussillon . . remporte une victoire sur le roi de France". At the base is the abbey of Vézelay; and a procession carrying the body of Marie-Madeleine.

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60. *Flodoardus, canonus ecclesiæ Remensis.* Historiarum ecclesiæ Remensis, libri IIII. cura Jacobi Sismondi. Paris, 1611, 8°.

Vol. III., chap. XXVI. Flodoard quotes a letter of Hincmar to Girard circa 859, in favour of electing Girard's candidate Isaac rather than Vulfade to the bishopric of Langres. F also gives an analysis of a letter from Hincmar to Charles the Bald, mentioning Girard's resolve to defend all monasteries against royal usurpations.

61. *Guibert de Nogent.* Œuvres. Appendix, p. 653. Paris, 1651, fol.

Publication of the will of Count Girard, the foundation Charters of Pothières and Vézelay monasteries, and other relevant documents [see No. 69].

Halphen, Louis. 1917. [See *Lot, Ferdinand; and Halphen, Louis,* No. 64].

62. *Labbe, Philippus, S. J.* Nova bibliotheca MSS. librorum; cum coronide poetica. Paris, 1653, 4°.

P. 394. Labbe quotes the Chronicle of Vézelay which notes, erroneously, the death of Berte in 844; and that of Girart in 847.

63. *Lebeuf, Jean, l'abbé.* Mémoires concernant l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile d'Auxerre. 2 t. Paris, 1743, 4°.

T. I., page 835. Quotes a " nécrologe de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre d'Auxerre ", indicating date of death of Girart.

64. *Lot, Ferdinand; and Halphen, Louis.* Le règne de Charles le Chauve (840—877). 1ère partie (840—851) [forming] 175me fascicule [of] Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, publiée sous les auspices du Ministère de L'Instruction publique. Sciences philologiques et historiques. Paris, Bouillon, 1917, 8°.

A valuable study of the reign, showing the rôle played by the historical Girart.

65. *Mabillon, Dom J.* Annales ordinis sancti Benedicti, V. tom. Paris, 1703—1713, folio.

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Tome III., p. 143. Quotation of a Latin epitaph of "Theodoricum", son of the founder of Vézelay and Pothières (Girard de Roussillon). Reveals baptism of this child at Lyons.

66. *Nithard.* Nithardi historiarum libri IIII. [in] Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex monumentis Germaniae historicis recudi fecit G. H. Pertz. Hanover, 1839—

Book I., chap. VI. Mention of Girard in 837 swearing an oath of fidelity to Charles the Bald, and his investiture of several cantons of North Burgundy.

Book 2, chap. III. Mention of Girard abandoning Charles the Bald in 840 to join with his enemy Lothaire.

Book 2, chap VI. Mention of Girard's defence of Attigny against Charles, by breaking the bridges over the river.

67. *Odon of Cluny.* Opera Odonis Diogilonis (Odonis Cluniacensis). [In tome 185 of]. Patrologiæ cursus completus, sive bibliotheca universalis . . . omnium sanctorum patruum doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum, qui ab aevo Apostolico ad usque Innocentii III. tempora floruerunt . . . indicibus . . locupletata accurante J. P. Migne. Serie (Latina) secunda . . . a Gregorio Magno ad Innocentium III. [tom 107—217]. Paris, 1855—1864.

Tome 185, column 1202. Praefatio Odonis Diogilonis [dedicated to King Louis VII. of France on setting out for the East].

§2. An account of the crusade preached at Vézelay in 1146: mentioning the locality as famous because of the abbey founded by Girard and Berte.

68. *Poupardin, René.* Le Royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens. (855—933?) [forming] 131me fascicule [of] Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, publiée sous les auspices du Ministère de L'Instruction publique. Sciences philologiques et historiques. Paris, Bouillon, 1901, 8°. XXXIV—472 pp.

PP. 5—40. The most valuable study of the historical Girart, and his importance in the history of Provence.

PP. 291—296. A study of the various Girarts under Charles le Chauve, elucidating the confusion formerly existing as to their identity.

P. 366, note 4. Note on Girart's death mentioned in an obituary of the Church of Saint Maurice at Vienne.

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69. *Quantin, Maximilien.* Cartulaire général de l'Yonne; recueil de documents authentiques publié par M. Quantin. 2 voll. Auxerre, 1854—60. 4°.

T. I., pp. 78—84. Fondation des Monastères de Vézelay et de Pothières.

Publication of the text of the foundation charters of these monasteries.

PP. 84—86. Bulle du Pape Nicolas I^er^ pour le monastère de Vézelay.

Publication of text of a letter from Nicolas I. to Girart, promising exemption of these monasteries from royal or episcopal authority.

70. *Regnault, M.* Abrégé de l'histoire de l'ancienne ville de Soissons.

P. 52. R holds Girard possessed the region of Soissons as a gift from Louis the Pious.

71. *Schoeplin, Johann Daniel.* Alsatia illustrata, Celtica, Romana, Francica. Colmar, 1751, folio.

Vol. I., p. 780. S. holds that the foundation chart of Vézelay [see No. 46] only mentions Girard's parents, not those of Berte.

72. *Viollet-le-duc, Emmanuel Louis Nicolas.* Monographie de l'ancienne Eglise abbatiale de Vézelay, Archives de la Commission de monuments historiques. Paris, Gide, 1873, folio. 29 pp. and 12 plates.

PP. 1, 2. Mention of Girard's foundation of Vézelay, and of his work done in connection with its preservation.

IV.

ALLUSIONS TO THE LEGEND IN THE LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

73. Aimeri de Narbonne, chanson de geste. [in] *L. Gautier,* Les Epopées françaises. Etude sur les origines et l'histoire de la Littérature Nationale. Seconde édition, entièrement refondue. 4 tomes. Paris, 1878—1882.

Tome III., p. 243. One of the messengers in *Aimeri de Narbonne* sent to negotiate about Aimeri's marriage, is Girart de Roussillon.

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74. Aubery le Bourgoing, Le Roman d'. [Edited by] *P. Tarbé* [in the] Collection des Poètes Champenois antérieurs au XVI^e^ siècle. Reims, 1849.

PP. 1, 2. The first 23 lines of the poem are a prologue describing the battles of Charles Martel and Girart de Roussillon. It is probably a reference to the legend; but is possibly drawn from some historical traditions.

75. *Aubri de Trois-Fontaines.* Chronique. [in Vol. XXIII. of] Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex monumentis Germaniae historicis recudi fecit G. H. Pertz. Hanover, 1839—

P. 739. Aubri refers to songs made about Charles Martel and "Gerardus Viennensis" and the long struggles between them. His references are to the legend of Girart de Roussillon although he does not give Girart that title. [See also under No. 47].

76. Aye d' Avignon, [edited by] *P. Meyer* [and] *Guessard, F.* [part I. tome VI. of] Les Anciens poètes de la France, nouvelle série de la Bibliothèque elzévirienne, publiée sous la direction de M. F. Guessard. Paris, 1861.

PP. 11, 81, 83. Three allusions in *Aye d' Avignon* to the lost "chanson" *Doon de Nantueil,* which alludes to the epic of *Girart de Roussillon.* The date of *Aye d' Avignon* being about 1180, it affords evidence of an early spread of *Girart de Roussillon* into French literature. This reference cannot be used for dating the extant "chanson de geste" of *Girart de Roussillon,* as the allusion may be to the original lost poem on *Girart.*

77. *Baudouin d'Avesne,* Chronique. Chronicon Hanoniensis quod dicitur Balduinus Avennensis, herausgegeben von I. Heller [part of] Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex monumentis Germaniae Historicis recudi fecit G. H. Pertz. Hanover, 1839.

Vol. XXV., pp. 414 seqq. Baudouin mentions the struggles of Charles Martel and Girart, including Charles' capture of Roussillon.

78. Berte aus grans piés, Li Roumans de. Poème publié d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal avec notes et variantes par J. A. U. Scheler. Brussels, 1874.

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P. 2. Ten lines of the second tirade of the poem relate at some length the tale of the fierce King Charles and Girart, and their long struggles. The author of the "roman" would have become acquainted with the struggles through the legend of *Girart de Roussillon.*

79. Chroniques. Choix de chroniques et mémoires sur l'histoire de la France, avec notices biographiques par J. A. C. Buchon. Paris, 1841. [part of] Panthéon Littéraire. Paris, 1835—45.

PP. 639—640. An anonymous fifteenth-century Flemish chronicle alludes to the destructive warfare of Charles Martel and Girart, mentioning Charles' capture and garrisoning of Roussillon. Because of this note of Roussillon, the allusion is in all likelihood to the legend, not to history.

80. Chronicle [in] Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. français 5003.

Fol. 91v°. An allusion in this anonymous chronicle to the transference of the body of Sainte Marie Madeleine to Vézelay by "Girart de Rosseillon". [See Nos. 134 and 210].

81. Débat de deus troveors ribaus [in] Fabliaux inédits tirés du MS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi, numéro 1830 ou 1239, par A. C. M. Robert. Paris, 1834.

P. 25. In an enumeration of several "chansons de geste", the "débat" notes "Girart de Roxillon".

82. Élie de Saint Gilles, chanson de geste, publiée avec introduction, glossaire et index par G. Raynaud. Accompagnée de la rédaction norvégienne traduite par E. Kölbing. Paris (Société des anciens Textes français), 1879.

VV. 2383, 2384. Citation of a proverb relative to Charles Martel; "la forche paist le pré", which is found applied to Charles in the extant "chanson" of *Girart de Roussillon* [see No. 188, § 624].

83. Fabliaux. Nouveau recueil de contes dits, Fabliaux et autres pièces inédites des XIII^{e}, XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles, publié par A. Jubinal. 2 tomes. Paris, 1839—1842.

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Tome II., p. 219. Publication of a "fatrasie" containing the following lines in allusion to the legend of *Girart de Roussillon*:—

* * * * *

"Que tantost vint l'ame prendre
La teste d'un porion,
Pour ce qu'il voloit aprendre
De Gerart de Roussillon".

84. Garin le Loherain [edited by] *A. Paulin Paris.* [Tomes II. and III. of] Les Romans des douze pairs de France. Paris, 1832-33.

Tome II., pp. 53, 76—77, 81. Three allusions to the devastating wars of Girart de Roussillon.

Tome II., p. 140. An allusion to a great deed of treachery carried out by "Hardres li viés floris" against Girart de Roussillon. The allusion reveals the existence of a poem on Girart before the extant "chanson", as there is no mention of "Hardres" in the latter.

85. Gaufrei. [Edited by] *F. Guessard.* [Vol. III. of] Les anciens poëtes de la France, nouvelle série de la Bibliothèque elzévirienne, publiée sous la direction de F. Guessard. Paris, 1860.

P. 5. An allusion to Girart de Roussillon causing great trouble to the Emperor Charles: then becoming a coal-carrier, and later regaining Roussillon by force.

P. 91. An allusion to Girart capturing Roussillon from a Saracen called "Heraut"; an episode not found in the extant versions of the legend of *Girart de Roussillon.*

P. 123. An allusion to the "escarbougle" of Roussillon, as in the extant "chanson" [see No. 188, p. 25, § 53].

P. 144. Gaufrei places his young son called "Gerardet le Roux" in possession of the castle of Roussillon, probably an allusion to the *Girart de Roussillon* legend.

86. *Guiraut de Cabreira.* [Extracts from works of, in] Denkmäler der provenzalischen Litteratur, herausgegeben von Karl Bartsch (Band XXXIX. der Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart). Stuttgart, 1856.

P. 90. Bartsch publishes a poem in which Guiraut de Cabreira reproaches his "jongleur" Cabra with knowing nothing of "Girart de Rossillon". This poem is also cited by *F. J. M. Raynouard* [in] Lexique Roman ou Dictionnaire de la Langue des Troubadours . . . précédé de

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nouvelles recherches . . . d'un résumé de la Grammaire Romane, d'un nouveau choix des poésies originales des Troubadours. 6 tomes. Paris, 1816—1821; tome II., p. 285. Raynouard quotes on the same page an anonymous Provençal text referring to *Girart de Roussillon.*

87. Hervis de Metz, [in] Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS. 3143, [and] Bibliothèque Nationale de Turin, MS., L. II. 14.

Arsenal MS., fol. 41 seqq, Turin MS., fol. 173 seqq: A long episode in *Hervis de Metz,* slenderly connected with the rest of the poem, in which Girart de Roussillon plays a large rôle in attacking and defying Charles Martel; but repents, at his death, of having fought against his liege lord. This is probably an allusion to the legend; although possibly a reference to historical tradition.

88. *Jacques de Guyse,* Histoire de Hainaut. Traduite en Français avec le texte Latin en regard, et accompagnée de notes par M. le Marquis de Fortia d'Urban. [part of] Annales de Hainaut, par J. Lefèvre, publiées avec des notes par M. le Marquis de Fortia d'Urban, pour servir de supplément aux annales de Jacques de Guyse. 21 tomes, Paris, 1826—1838.

Tom. VIII., pp. 188—190. A valuable account of the legend of *Girart de Roussillon.* Jacques de Guyse's mention of the marriages of Charles and Girart to two daughters of the Byzantine Emperor reveals that his allusion is not to the Latin *Vita,* nor, in all probability, to the lost original poem on *Girart.* In general the account tallies with the extant "chanson de geste"; but from the inclusion by Jacques of many episodes not in the extant "chanson", P. Meyer [see No. 188, pp. CXIII.—CXV.] has argued that Jacques drew from a thirteenth or fourteenth century Flemish version, now lost. Meyer's argument has considerable probability.

89. *Jacques Meyer.* Chronique. [in] Les Chroniques et Annales de Flandres: contenantes les exploicts des Forestiers, et Comtes de Flandres, et les choses memorables advenües audict Flandres depuis l'an de la Naissance Jesus Christ VI^{c} et XX. jusques à l'an M. CCCLXXVI. Nouvellement composées par P. d'Oudegherst. Antwerp, 1571.

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Fol. 30. Jacques Meyer mentions a "Hermengarda filia Gerardi Ruscionensis"; a personage unknown elsewhere in the legend of *Girart de Roussillon*, or in allusions to it. Nevertheless this reference seems to be to Girart de Roussillon.

90. *Jean Bodel.* La Chanson des Saxons; publiée pour la première fois par F. Michel. 2 tomes. [tomes 1 and 2 of] Les Romans des Douze Pairs de France. Paris, 1839.

Tome 2, p. 76. Bodel's poem alludes to Charles Martel fighting at Valbeton, probably therefore against Girart de Roussillon as related in the *Girart* legend.

91. *Jean d'Outremeuse.* Ly Myreur des histors, chronique de Jean Des Preis, dit d'Outremeuse. (Tomes 1—3, et 5, publiés par A. Borgnet; tomes 4 et 6, par S. Bormans). Brussels, 1864—80. [part of] Corps des Chroniques Liégeoises [in the] Collection de Chroniques Belges inédites.

Tome II., p. 443. After relating the transference of the body of Marie-Madeleine to Vézelay, Jean d'Outremeuse mentions a great battle between Charles Martel and "Gerard de Rossellon", who was badly defeated. This is probably an allusion to the legend, although the latter part may be a reference to the historical tradition about Girart.

92. La Chanson de Roland, [edited by] *P. Heitz,* d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford. [Numbers 53, 54 of] Bibliothèque française [in] Bibliotheca Romanica, herausgegeben von P. Heitz und E. Schneegans. Strasbourg.

PP. 81, 90, 97 (vv. 1896, 2189, 2409). Three allusions to "Gerard de Russillun" as fighting and dying among the peers at the battle of Roncesvaux. From the epithet "de Russillun" the allusion is very probably to the legend of *Girart* not to history; and it would therefore supply evidence of the existence of a "chanson" of *Girart de Roussillon* prior to the *chanson de Roland.*

93. L'Entrée de Spagne. Nouvelles recherches sur L'Entreé de Spagne, chanson de geste franco-italienne, par A. Thomas. Paris, 1882.

P. 45. Six lines of the poem describe the battle of Valbeton in the extant "chanson" of *Girart de Roussillon.*

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The precision of this allusion in a franco-italian "chanson" is perhaps due to the fact that the best MS. of the *Girart* extant "chanson" was written in North Italy [see No. 181].

94. *Matthew Paris.* Historia Anglorum. [edited by] Sir F. Madden. [part of] Rerum Brittanicarum medii aevi Scriptores. London, 1858.

Vol. I., pp. 57, 71, 120. Three allusions to a "Girardus de Russelun" as having taken the Cross in 1095. If this refers to the epic hero, as the epithet "de Russelun" seems to indicate, it provides a very early allusion to the legend, useful for dating the lost original poem or the Latin Life [see No. 182]. Possibly it is a tradition grown up around the historical Girart. [See also No. 113, pp. 89—90].

95. *Nicholas de Senlis.* [translation of] Historia Caroli-Magni et Rolandi [commonly ascribed to Turpin, Archbishop of Reims]. [in] De Pseudo-Turpino disseruit G. Paris. Paris, 1865.

PP. 52, 53. Nicholas includes in his translation a chronicle of Saintonge, alluding to the destruction of an abbey of Souvigny, founded by Girart. This episode is not found elsewhere in the legend of *Girart de Roussillon.*

96. Ogier de Danemarche. La Chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche. Poème publié par Jean Barrois (de Lille). 2 tom. [forming vols. 8 and 9 of] Les Romans des Douze Pairs de France. Paris, 1832.

VV. 9514, 9530, 9678, 12693. Four allusions to Girart de Roussillon in company with Doon de Nantueil and Aimon de Dordone, heroes of "chansons de geste".

97. *Paradinus, Gulielmus.* Annales de Bourgongne, Lyons, 1566.

P. 94. An allusion to a "roman" of *Girart de Roussillon.*

98. *Philippe Mousket,* Chronique rimée, publiée par le baron de Reiffenberg, 2 voll. [part of] La Collection de Chroniques Belges publiées par ordre du gouvernement. Brussels, 1836—8.

Vol. I., p. 75, vv. 1810 seqq. Mousket gives an exact account of the extant "chanson" of *Girart de Roussillon;* a valuable testimony to the extent of the legend.

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99. Renaus de Montauban, oder die Haimonskinder, altfranzösisches Gedicht nach den Handschriften zum erstenmal herausgegeben von Dr. H. V. Michelant (No. 67 des Litterarische Vereins in Stuttgart). Stuttgart, 1862.

P. 5. An allusion where Charles speaks of Girart de Roussillon who "guerroia vers moi".

P. 13. An allusion to Girart and Doon; and to Charles' wars against them.

P. 45. An important allusion to a war between Charles and Girart, who pursues Charles up to the gates of Paris. This episode is not found in the extant "chanson", only in the Latin *Vita* of *Girart de Roussillon*. This allusion is therefore probably to the hypothetical original poem on *Girart*.

P. 156. An allusion to the wars of Girart and Doon de Nantueil against Charles Martel; and to the foundation of Vézelay by Girart; the first part probably alludes to the hypothetical original poem.

100. Roman d'Alexandre [Text in] Museo civico di Venezia, MS. 665.

Fol. 81v°. The "roman" contains a line in allusion to the legend of *Girart de Roussillon*:—

"E de la grant bataille qui fu en Val Beton".

101. *Trecis, N. Camuzæus Tricassinus.* Chronologia . . . auctore anonymo, sed cœnobii S. Mariani apud Altissiodorum . . monacho . . edita opera et studio N. Camuzæi Tricassini Trecis. 1608, 4°.

Fol. 69v°. Account of transference in 865 by Girart of the bodies of SS. Eusebius and Pontian from Rome, the former to Pothières, the latter to Vézelay; a legend introduced into the "Roman en Alexandrins".

V.

ARTICLES AND CRITICAL WORKS.

102. *Anglade, Joseph.* Histoire Sommaire de la Littérature Méridionale au moyen Age (des origines à la Fin du XV^e^ siècle). Paris, Boccard, 1921, 8°. IX—274 pp.

P. 35. Note on the versification and the cæsura in *Girart de Roussillon.*

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PP. 135—137. Anglade gives a brief account of the legend; followed by an appreciation of the vigour and beauty of the extant "chanson". He supports Chabaneau [see No. 119] in holding the region of its composition to be Limousin.

103. *Apfelstedt, Friedrich.* [Notes to] *Girartz de Rossilho,* nach der Pariser Handschrift herausgegeben von Conrad Hofmann, Berlin, 1855—1857 [see No. 30] mit der Handschrift Bibliothèque Nationale 2180 du fonds français, neu verglichen von Friedrich Apfelstedt. Romanische Studien. 5 Band, Heft XVII., herausgegeben von E. Boehmer. Bonn, 1880.

PP. 283—295. Useful textual notes and emendations to the Paris MS. of the "chanson de geste" [see No. 6]. [For Review see No. 187].

104. *Aubertin, Charles.* Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature françaises au moyen âge d'après les travaux les plus récents. 2 tom. Paris, 1883.

Tom. I., p. 252, note 4. *Girart de Roussillon* classed among the earliest group of epics, retaining a primitive, barbaric nature.

PP. 255, 256. "le Midi ne peut revendiquer qu'une seule chanson de geste, *Girartz de Rossilho*"; an exaggerated statement. Girart de Roussillon is not entirely Provençal.

105. *Avril, M. le baron d'.* Histoire véritable de l'illustre Girart de Roussillon. Paris (Nouvelle Bibliothèque bleue), 1892.

A paraphrase of the "roman en alexandrins" of Girart de Roussillon.

106. *Barrois, J. D. du N.* Bibliothèque protypographique ou librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V., Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens. Paris, Crapelet, 1830. 4°.

P. 209—

No. 1446. Mention of a MS of *Girart de Roussillon* [see No. 8].

Nos. 1447, 1448. Description of two MSS., one probably identical with that now at Vienna [see No. 17].

No. 1449. Description of a MS. of *Girart de Roussilon* [see No. 11].

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No. 1450. Description of a MS. not identified with any extant.

P. 245, No. 1695. Description of MS. already described, p. 209, No. 1448 [above].

P. 249, No. 1741. Description of MS. already described, p. 209, No. 1450 [above].

P. 306, No. 2167. Description of MS. already described, p. 209, No. 1446 [above].

P. 306, No. 2168. Description of MS. already described, p. 209, No. 1449 [above].

107. *Bartsch, Karl.* [Review of] *Paul Meyer,* La Légende de Girart de Roussillon [see No. 182]. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, herausgegeben von Dr. Gustav Gröber, II., 3, pp. 498—500, 1878.

A criticism of Meyer's date for the "chanson de geste" of Girart, the second half of the twelfth century, because of its versification. Bartsch holds that the author of the Latin Life could have been acquainted with the extant "chanson." He also urges that the legend is of Provençal origin.

108. *Bartsch, Karl.* Zum *Girart de Rossilho.* Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, herausgegeben von Dr. Gustav Gröber. X. Band, 1886, pp. 143—152.

PP. 143—150. Publication of the text of part of a German prose *Girart de Roussillon* [see No. 157]. Bartsch publishes alongside it the text of the passages corresponding to the German fragment in the extant "chanson" (ed. Förster, vv. 9416—9718 [see No. 35]). In his discussion of the fragment (pp. 150—152) Bartsch holds that the German fragment is possibly derived from a lost German C. XII. poem. [For Review see No. 191.]

109. *Becker, Philipp-August.* [in] Grundriss der altfranzösischen Literatur. I. Theil, alteste Denkmäler. Nationale Heldendichtung, von Ph-Aug. Becker. Heidelberg, 1907. Part of [Sammlung romanischen- und Elementar Handbücher].

PP. 87—91. A brief account of the legend; showing an additional reason to those of Chérest [see No. 122] for placing the Latin Life not before 1100.

110. *Becker, Ph-Aug.* [Review of] La légende de Girart de Roussillon, par J. Bédier [see No. 113]. Litera-

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turblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie, columns 368—371, Leipzig, 1907.

An appreciation of Bédier's work. Becker would place Vézelay as the home of the original legend, holding Pothières to have been an addition in the Latin *Vita.* Becker's criticism brings to light no important point.

111. *Bédier, Joseph.* [Edition of] Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas, poème du XII^e^ siècle. Tome I. Texte. Paris (Société des anciens textes français), 1902, 8°, IX.—420 pp.

P. 368, note to v. 1870. Comparison of Tristan's expulsion from Iseut's palace in Thomas' poem to an episode in *Girart de Roussillon* [see No. 188, p. 242].

112. *Bédier, Joseph.* [Edition of] Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas, poème du XII^e^ siècle. Tome 2. Introduction. Paris, Firmin Didot, 1905. 8°, 462 pp. Publication de la Société des anciens Textes français.

P. 263, note 1. Comparison of the hermit in *Girart de Roussillon,* P. Meyer's translation, pp. 235—239 [see No. 188] with the hermit Ogrin in the legend of Tristan and Iseut. Ogrin cited as possibly derived from the original " chanson " of *Girart.*

113. *Bédier, Joseph.* Les Légendes épiques, recherches sur la formation des chansons de geste. T. II. Paris, Champion, 1908, 8°.

PP. 3—92. After an excellent analysis of the poem, Bédier turns to the historical Girart; and, revealing that all the historical evidence is preserved in the abbeys of Vézelay and Pothières, and that there is no allusion to poems on Girart before the C. XI., he develops his conclusion that the epic springs directly from the abbeys of Vézelay and Pothières, being a product of the pilgrimage activity of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, written to spread the fame of Vézelay as a shrine. [For Review see No. 110].

114. *Bédier, J.* Les Chansons de Geste [in] Histoire de la Nation française, ed. G. Hanotaux, tome XII., Histoire des Lettres, Premier Volume (Des Origines à Ronsard). Deuxième Partie. Paris, 1921.

PP. 197, 199, 200, 202. Connection of Girart de Roussillon with the monasteries and shrines.

PP. 226—229. Girart de Roussillon mentioned among the cycle of Doon, as a typical feudal epic.

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115. Bibliothèque impériale, Paris. [Manuscript in] supplément français, 2440.

A letter from an advocate, Lehors, in 1745, to the Abbot Lebeuf, who was studying Girart de Roussillon, stating his notice of a Latin prose history, unnoticed by Lebeuf, which was apparently copied in 1614 by Antoine Pirot, in the monastery of Pothières. The first notice of the Latin Life.

116. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. [Manuscript in]. Cinq cents de Colbert, No. 130. [An inventory of 1568].

Fol. 99. " Autre petit volume en grande forme, escript à la main, couvert de parchemin, intitulé, La vie de Girard, le comte de Rossillon, en latin, commenchant au second feuillet; *Octo in regis domo* ". Description of a MS. of the Latin *Vita* of Girart de Roussillon, probably the Bibliothèque Nat.. MS., Paris [see No. 1].

Fol. 106. Mention of a MS. of *Girart de Roussillon* [see No. 11].

Fol. 111v°. Mention of a Brussels MS. of the " roman en alexandrins " of *Girart de Roussillon* [see No. 8].

Birch-Hirschfeld, Adolf, 1913. [See *Suchier, H.; and Birch-Hirschfeld, A.*; No. 227].

117. *Breuer, Gustav Mathias.* Sprachliche Untersuchung des Girart de Rossillon herausgegeben von Mignard. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde bei der hohen philosophischen Facultät der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, von G. M. Breuer aus Balesfeld. Bonn, C. Georgi, 1884. 47 pp.

An exhaustive philological study of the C. XIV. " roman en alexandrins " as published by Mignard [see No. 40]. The work is divided into I. Phonology, II. Syntax, each being subdivided into Vowels and Consonants. The author notes every form; and gives every place in which each form occurs in the poem: nevertheless more explanation of the causes of these forms would have constituted a better contribution to the problems of the poem.

118. *Brunet, Gustave.* Le Manuel du Libraire et de l'amateur des Livres. 5me édition. Paris, 1860.

Tome II., column 1548. Brief account of the poems and " romans " on the legend.

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119. *Chabaneau, Camille.* [Note in] Histoire générale de Languedoc, avec des notes et des pièces justificatives, avec les additions des nouveaux éditeurs; par Claude De Vic et Joseph Vaissete, Bénédictins de Saint-Maur. 16 tomes. Toulouse, 1872—1889, 4°.

Tom X., p. 394. Toulouse, 1885. A note on the extant "chanson de geste" of *Girart de Roussillon* as being composed possibly in the territory of Limousin.

120. *Chabaneau, Camille.* Sainte Marie-Madeleine dans la littérature provençale, recueil des textes provençaux en prose et en vers relatifs à cette sainte, publié avec introduction et commentaires par Camille Chabaneau. Montpellier, Hamelin, 1885, 8°, 116 pp.

An edition of the Provençal accounts of the life of Sainte Marie-Madeleine. The introduction deals with the relations of the various texts, and their connection with the legend of *Girart de Roussillon.*

121. *Chabaneau, Camille.* La Langue et la Littérature du Limousin. Revue des Langues Romanes, 4me série, V., pp. 329—437, 1891.

PP. 387—399. Description and classification, often inexact, of the MSS. of the extant "chanson" of *Girart de Roussillon* [see Nos. 4—7].

122. *Chérest, Aimé-Alexandre.* Gerard de Roussillon dans l'histoire, les romans et les légendes. Congrès Scientifique de France. 25me session, tenue à Auxerre au mois de Septembre, 1858. Tome II., Auxerre, 1859, 8°.

PP. 263—346. An excellent study of the part to ascribe to fiction and the part to history in the legend of *Girart de Roussillon.* Chérest gives an interesting account of the early studies on Girart de Roussillon in the eighteenth century; he elucidates many points, formerly very confused: and finds a "terminus a quo" and a "terminus ad quem" for the Latin *Vita* [see Bédier, No. 113, pp. 40, 41].

123. *Chérest, Aimé-Alexandre.* Vézelay, étude historique par A. Chérest. Auxerre, Perriquet et Rouillé; 3 t., 1863—1868. 8°. [Extract from] Bulletin de la Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de L'Yonne.

An enlightening study including legend and history of *Girart de Roussillon,* achieving considerable value in disentangling the one from the other.

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124. *Clerc, Édouard.* Gérard de Roussillon, récit du IX^e^ siècle, d'après les textes originaux et les dernières découvertes faites en Franche-Comté avec les plans des champs de bataille de Château-Chalon et de Pontarlier. Paris, Aubry; and Besançon, Marion. 1869, 80 pp.

Clerc gives in pages 1—34 a detailed study of the life of the historical Girart; and of the topography of the historical battles with Charles. Pages 34—80 contain quotations from texts, charters and poems in Latin and French as evidence for his study.

125. *Clerc, Édouard.* Notice sur Gérard de Roussillon et ses démêlés avec Charles le Chauve. Académie des sciences, belles-lettres, etc., de Besançon, 1870.

P. 40. Brief note of the feudal struggles in *Girart de Roussillon.*

126. *Collijn, Isaac Gustav, A.* Sur la vie de Sainte Marie-Madeleine. [In] Uppsatser i romansk filologi tillägnade Professor P. A. Geijer pa hans sextioarsdag den 9, April, 1901, pp. 241—250. Uppsala, Almqvist, 1901, in 8°, VIII.—302 pp.

A study to determine the precise point of contact between the legend of *Sainte Marie-Madeleine* and that of *Girart de Roussillon;* the author, however, hardly attains this object. [For Review see No. 213].

127. *Comfort, W. W.* Types in the Chansons de Geste. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, Vol. XXI., 1906..

PP. 296, 297. *Girart de Roussillon* as illustrating the feudal baron in contempt of the Royal power.

PP. 356, 357. The hermit's preaching in *Girart de Roussillon* [see No. 35, vv. 7505—7511] quoted as illustrative of ideas of treachery in the " chansons de geste ".

PP. 372, 373. Character of Berte as example of woman in the " chansons de geste ".

128. Compte rendu des séances de la Commission Royale d' Histoire, ou Recueil de ses Bulletins. Troisième série. Tome XII. Brussels, Hayez, 1871.

Communications, pp. 10—136, Inventaire des vaisselles, joyaux, tapisseries, peintures, manuscrits, etc., etc., de

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Marguerite d'Autriche, régente et gouvernante des Pays-Bas, dressé en son palais de Malines, le 9 juillet, 1523 [communiqué par M. Michelant].

P. 52. Item, ung grant livre qui se nomme, *La table des chappitres du livre et de l'histoire de Monseigneur Girard de Rossillon.* Description of a MS., probably identical with that now at Vienna [see No. 17].

129. Congrès scientifique de France, Vingt-cinquième session, tenue à Auxerre au mois de Septembre, 1858. Tome II. Auxerre, 1859, 8°.

PP. 250—263. [Discussion of 14th question] Quel est, d'après les documents authentiques, le rôle qu'a joué dans les événements du IX^e^ siècle le comte Gerard de Roussillon, fondateur de l'abbaye de Vézelay, dont les poèmes et les romans des siècles suivants ont popularisé le nom? Caractériser ces écrits au double point de vue historique et littéraire. [Discussion by MM. Mignard and Chérest]. An attempt to elucidate the problem of history and legend. Mignard cites the historical allusions in extenso.

130. *Coxe, H. O.* Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ. Pars Tertia. Codices Græcos et Latinos-Canonicianos complectens. Oxford, 1854, 4°.

P. 475. Description of the Oxford MS. [see No. 5] cataloguing it as Can. Misc. 63 [see Nos. 27 and 28].

131. *Crampon, A.* Girart de Roussillon, chanson de geste. Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de la Picardie, XXIX., pp. 1—26, 1887.

Unimportant account of the extant twelfth-century "chanson de geste".

132. *Crossland, J.* The Diction of the Earliest "Chansons de Geste". [In] Modern Language Review, Vol. XII., 1917.

P. 68. Note on the unusual position of the cæsura in *Girart de Roussillon*: its result in the diction of the poem.

Dargan, E. P. [see *Nitze, W. A.; and Dargan, E. P.*, 1921; No. 204].

133. *Delisle, Léopold Victor.* Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale (3 tomes) et Planches

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d'écritures anciennes. [Forming part of] Histoire générale de Paris, collection de documents, éd. par le baron Haussmann. Paris, 1868—1881, 4°.

T. III. Inventory of the Louvre Library made during the reign of Charles V.

1107. Foulques, Faucon, Girard le conte, rimé en Gascoing. *E Carles.*

1108. Foulques, Faucon et Girard de Roussillon; petit et très bien enluminé, tres vieil, escript en françois. *Se guart par.*

Mention of two manuscripts of *Girart de Roussillon* not identified with any extant.

134. *Delisle, Léopold Victor.* [In] Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles-Lettres. 22 August, 1879. [Volume for] 1879, p. 199.

Identification of the anonymous chronicle [see No. 80] with a MS. (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, 5003 du fonds français).

135. *Diez, Friedrich.* Leben und Werke der Troubadours. Ein Beitrag zur nähern Kenntniss des Mittelalters von F. Diez. (Zweite Aufl. von K. Bartsch). Leipzig, 1882, 8°.

I. Aufl, p. 460. Diez places in the year 1212 the composition of the anonymous text [see No. 86 under Raynouard] which refers to the wars of Charles Martel and Girart de Roussillon.

136. *Doncieux, Georges.* Les Sarcophages de Saint-Maximin et la Légende de Marie-Madeleine. Annales du Midi, revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale, publiée par Antoine Thomas. 6me année, No. 23. Paris and Toulouse, 1894, 8°.

PP. 351—360. A study of the texts and the monuments of the legend to determine a point left obscure by Duchesne [see No. 137], why the originators of the legend fixed the abode of the saint at the obscure little town of Saint-Maximin.

137. *Duchesne, L. (de l'Institut).* La légende de Sainte Marie-Madeleine. Annales du Midi, revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France

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méridionale publiée par Antoine Thomas. 5me année. Paris and Toulouse, 1893, 8°. No. 17, pp. 1—33.

PP. 19—33. Study of the growth, development and accretions of the legend in Provençal; holding the legend of the transference of her body to Vézelay to be a C. XI. invention.

Durand, Ursin. See Martène, Edmond; and Durand, Ursin; No. 177].

138. *Fabre, Adolphe, Président du Tribunal Civil de St. Etienne.* Examen des travaux récents publiés sur Gérard de Roussillon par MM. de Terrebasse, Fauriel et F. Michel, Lyons, 1857, 12°, 11 pp.

An article on the editions of the epic, published at Lyons just prior to 1857; and on the works written about the legend [see Nos. 28—30, 45 and 228].

139. *Fabre, Adolphe-Louis. Président du Tribunal Civil de Saint-Etienne.* Un mot sur les romans de Gérard de Roussillon: [signed] A. Fabre. Vienne, J. Timon, 1857, 8°, 24 pp. [Extract from] Le Moniteur viennois, May, 1857.

A note on the C. XIV. "roman", Wauquelin's history, and the later abbreviations of it; some comparison between the abbreviations and the history.

140. *Fabre, Adolphe-Louis.* Romans et chansons de geste sur Gérard de Roussillon, étude historique et littéraire par A. Fabre. Vienne (Dauphiné) Savigné, 1873, 8°, XV.—23 pp.

A work of minor value. Fabre does not succeed in disentangling history and legend concerning Girart de Roussillon, and is inaccurate in many details.

141. *Faguet, Émile.* A Literary History of France. London, 1907.

P. 51. *Girart de Roussillon* is one of the two "chansons de geste" of Provençal literature.

P. 668. An exaggerated statement on *Girart de Roussillon,* "of which there is one version in Langued'oïl and another in Provençal".

142. *Faral, Edmond.* [In] Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française illustrée, publiée sous la direction de MM. J. Bédier et P. Hazard. Tome premier. Le Moyen Age. Paris, Larousse, 1923, 4°.

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Chap. III. Les Chansons de Geste.

P. 13. Photograph of Vézelay.

P. 15. Note on the pious deeds of epic heroes, as revealed by *Girart de Roussillon.*

143. *Fauriel, C. C.* Histoire de la Poésie Provençale, Cours fait à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. 3 tomes, Paris, 1846.

Tome III., pp. 34—65. Fauriel gives a detailed analysis of the story of the extant "chanson", with some account of the historical basis of Girard. Useful and interesting remarks on the social pictures afforded by the poem, on the characterisation in the poem, and on the love element in the poem as the most remarkable feature.

144. *Fauriel, Claude Charles.* [In] Histoire Littéraire de la France, ouvrage commencé par des religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur, et continué par des membres de l'Institut, Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). Tome XXII., Paris, 1852, 4°.

Fin du treizième siècle. [Chap.] III. Troubadours, I. *Girart de Roussillon* [pp. 167—190].

A general study, noting the peculiar dialect of the extant "chanson", and its peculiar versification. Fauriel includes a lengthy description of the legend, and a valuable appreciation of its literary qualities; but places it under the heading "Troubadours"; and in the volume entitled "Fin du treizième siècle".

145. *Gautier, Léon.* Les Épopées françaises, Étude sur les Origines et l'histoire de la Littérature Nationale, 2me Edition, entièrement refondue. IV. tom, Paris, 1878—1892.

Tome I., p. 126. *Girart de Roussillon,* not among the three large cycles of epics.

PP. 134—136. *Girart de Roussillon* not composed in the "langued'oc" but on its borders; it forms no exception to the theory that there was no Provençal epic literature.

P. 163. Epics in the second half of the twelfth century were very far from the sublime simplicity of the earlier "chansons". G. cites Berte in *Girart de Roussillon* as an example of the earlier "chansons".

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P. 240. Note of the four MSS. of the extant "chanson" [see Nos. 4—7] and of one MS. of the 14th century "Roman" [see No. 11].

PP. 322, 323. Unusual position of the cæsura in the versification of the extant "chanson": extracts quoted to illustrate it.

PP. 412—415. Classification of *Girart de Roussillon* among the other "chansons de geste".

PP. 487—488. Account of the part of the extant "chanson" published by Raynouard [see No. 26].

PP. 537—538. Study of Berte in *Girart* as example of female characterisation in the "chansons de geste".

Tom II., p. 739. Note on Michel's and Hofmann's editions of *Girart de Roussillon* [see Nos. 29 and 30].

P. 791. Note on Meyer's *Girart de Roussillon* [see No. 188].

146. *Gautier, Léon.* L'épopée nationale. [Forming chapter II., pp. 49—170 of] Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française des Origines à 1900, publiée sous la direction de L. Petit de Julleville. Tome I. Moyen Age (des origines à 1500). Première partie. Paris, A. Colin, 1896.

PP. 100, 101, 106. A mention of *Girart de Roussillon* in citing provincial and regional cycles of epics.

PP. 110, 111. A refutation of the theory that the Midi was the great region where the epics were produced; P. Meyer having shown that *Girart de Roussillon* was composed in N. Burgundy, not in Provençal.

P. 115. A note on *Girart de Roussillon* as typifying one kind of epic versification.

P. 130, note 1. Note on the liturgical phrase at the end of the "chanson de geste" of *Girart de Roussillon.*

P. 131. Mention of *Girart de Roussillon* as indicating traces of personality of author apart from the common national characteristics of the epics.

P. 139. A description of the fine character of Berte in the extant "chanson de geste" of *Girart de Roussillon.*

P. 149. The character of Girart as typical of the great feudal vassal.

147. *Gautier, Léon.* Bibliographie des Chansons de Geste, complément des "Epopées françaises". Paris, 1897.

PP. 111, 112. Description of the various forms in which the legend of *Girart de Roussillon* is preserved: some classification of the MSS. of the extant "chanson de geste" [see Nos. 4—7].

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148. *Gollut, Lois.* Les mémoires historiques de la republique Sequanoise et des princes de la Franche—Comté de Bourgougne; avec un sommaire de l'histoire des rois de Castille et Portugal, de la maison desdicts princes de Bourgougne. Nouvelle édition, corrigée, et enrichie de notes par Ch. Duvernoy, accompagnée de tables, d'une glossaire, et d'une notice sur l'auteur par Emmanuel Bousson de Mairet Arbois. 1846, 8°.

T. IV., chap. VIII., column 334. Relates a popular ditty on the death of Girart; similar to that in Viguier [see No. 233].

"Entre le Doux et le Drugeon
Mourut Girart de Roussillon".

149. *Gorra, Egidio.* [Translation of] *Nyrop, Cristoforo.* Storia dell'epopea francese nel medio evo [see No. 205]. Traduzione da Egidio Gorra. Firenze, Carnesecchi, 1886, 8°, XVII.—495 pp.

Part II., ch. I. III. Note on the MSS.: the poem does not belong to Provençal literature.

IV. General account of the legend and its poems: of minor importance.

Appendix. Lengthy bibliography of *Girart de Roussillon* up to 1883.

150. *Graesse, J. G. T.* Die grossen Sagenkreise des Mittelalters. Dresden and Leipzig, 1842.

PP. 287—288. General account of the legend and the epics devoted to it.

151. *Graesse, J. G. T.* Trésor de Livres rares et précieux, ou Nouveau Dictionnaire Bibliographique, 6 tomes et Supplément. Dresden, 1862—1869.

Tome III., p. 56. Mention of Arnoullet's edition of Jean Mansel [see No. 42], and of Mignard's edition of the "roman en alexandrins" [see No. 40].

Tome IV., p. 341. Mention of Mahn's Werke der Troubadours. G says "C'est dommage que cet ouvrage n'ait pas été terminé", and notes Hofmann's edition of Girart de Roussillon [see No. 30].

Tome VII. (Supplément), p. 326. Mention of Michel's edition of the poems of *Girart de Roussillon* [see No. 29], and Perrin's edition of Mansel's prose version [see No. 45]. G adds erroneously, "Ces poèmes, basés sur un texte latin inédit du XI^e siècle".

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152. *Gröber, Gustav.* Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, herausgegeben von G. Gröber. II. Band, I. Abteilung, Strassburg, Trübner, 1902.

P. 27. Note on versification of *Girart de Roussillon,* a poem not of Provençal origin.

P. 30. Note on spread of Alexandrine verse, evidenced by the C. XIV. French "Gerart de Rossellon" in Alexandrines [see No. 40].

P. 44. Note on the syllables and cæsura of *Girart de Roussillon,* the extant chanson.

P. 53. Note on liturgical refrains in *Girart de Roussillon.*

P. 457. Classification of *Girart de Roussillon* in Carolingian epic cycle.

PP. 562—563. Study of the position of *Girart de Roussillon* in Burgundian epics.

P. 808. The C. XIV. "roman de *Girart de Roussillon*" as one of the class of great vassal epics of Burgundy.

PP. 1143, 1144. Brief study of the C. XV. prose *Gerard de Rossillon* by Jean Wauquelin [see No. 41].

P. 1147. Brief study of Jean Mansel's abbreviation of Wauquelin [see No. 45].

153. *Heiligbrodt, R.* Synopsis der Tiradenfolge in den Handschriften des Girart de Rossilhon, zusammengestellt in Strassburger Romanischen Seminar. [In] Romanische Studien, herausgegeben von Eduard Boehmer. Bonn, E, Weber, 4 Band, Heft, XIII., 1879.

PP. 124—140. A collection of the tirade endings of *Girart de Roussillon,* arranged in tabular form, with the variations in the four MSS. of the extant chanson [see Nos. 4—7], arranged in four columns, side by side. With footnotes. A useful philological study.

154. *Hentschke, Georg.* Die Verbalflexion in der Oxforder Handschrift des *Girart de Rossillon.* Inaugural Dissertation; welche mit Genehmigung der hochlöblichen philosophischen Facultät der Universität zu Breslau, behufs Erlangung der Doctorat. Halle, Karras, 1882, 8°, 32 pp.

A philological work on the forms of conjugations in the Oxford MS. of *Girart* [see No. 5]. Owing to the absence of a table or index, the arbitrary divisions, the absence of order in the examples; and the fact that it is a mere

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chronicle of the forms in themselves, without conclusions drawn, the work is not of great value in itself. [For Review see No. 219].

155. *Hofmann, Conrad.* Zur Erklärung und Chronologie des *Girart de Rossilho.* Romanische Forschungen, herausgegeben von Karl Vollmöller. I. Band. Erlangen, Deichert, 1883.

P. 137. Hofmann considers the "aurieflor" in *Girart de Roussillon* (v. 585 ed. Förster [see No. 35]) to be the golden rose which Popes customarily bestowed on princes as a reward. But as the custom dates back to Pope Leo X. (1048—1055) it is too old to give any light on the date of *Girart de Roussillon,* as Hofmann urges. In all probability this passage belongs only to the extant "chanson de geste"; at any rate 1055 is too early to be of any value as a "terminus a quo" of the original epic.

156. *Huet, Gédeon.* [Review of] Girartstudien, von Leo Jordan [see No. 158]. Romania, XXXII., 1903.

PP. 619—621. An attempt to see whether Jordan's arguments reveal in *Girart de Roussillon* an unique instance of the influence of the French epics on the Musulman world. Huet shows that Jordan's parallels to *Girart de Roussillon* in "Omar al Nachman" have no great resemblance to the epic; while the theft of Girart's bride has been proved by P. Meyer [see No. 188, PP. XXXVII—XL] and A. Stimming [see No. 225, p. 56] to belong only to the extant "chanson" not to the original. Jordan's parallels to *Girart de Roussillon* in the Nibelungenlied seem as hazardous as those in the Arabic romance; they are all common material of popular tale and lore. In short, the study in comparative literature is not properly performed in this work.

157. *Jacobs, E.* Bruchstücke eines nd. Prosaromans. Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum und deutsches Litteratur, herausgegeben von Elias Steinmeyer. XXX. Band. Der neuen Folge XVIII. Band. Berlin, 1886.

PP. 76—82. Publication of the text of two parchment leaves written in the fourteenth century belonging to a German prose translation of *Girart de Roussillon.* Jacobs publishes alongside it the corresponding passages in P. Meyer's translation of the French extant "chanson" [see No. 188. §§ 635—639, pp. 300—302; and §§ 651—655, pp. 306—309).

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158. *Jordan, Leo.* Girartstudien. Romanische Forschungen, herausgegeben von Karl Vollmöller. XIV. Band. 2 Heft. Erlangen, Junge, 1903.

PP. 321—338. A comparison of *Girart de Roussillon* with an Arabic romance "Omar al Nachman" in the "Thousand and One Nights". (see Burton, *A Plain and Literal Translation . . .*", vol. II., p. 77, seqq); chiefly noting parallels in the Arabic romance to Girart's loss of his bride by the theft of Charles; and to Girart in exile helped by poor people. Jordan therefore holds that the Arabic romance is imitated from the original lost *Girart* which had many common features with the Nibelungenlied. A study, largely conjectural, which throws no real light on the problems of the legend. [For Review see No. 156].

159. *Jordan, Leo.* Über Entstehung und Entwickelung des altfranzösischen Epos. Romanische Forschungen, herausgegeben von Karl Vollmöller. XVI. Band, 2 Heft, 1904. PP. 354—370.

PP. 359—366. A tracing of resemblances to the Nibelungenlied in both *Girart de Roussillon* and *Girart de Vienne;* and an indication of some of the points of connection between these two epics.

160. *Jordan, Leo.* Studien zur fränkischen Sagengeschichte. I. Die Folko-Aupais Episode im Girart von Rossillon und Alphaid, Mutter Karl Martels. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, herausgegeben von Alois Brandl und Heinrich Morf. LIX. Jahrgang. CXIV. Band. Der neueren serie XIV. Band. Brunswick. Westermann, 1905.

PP. 92—114. A study, principally referring to the Fouques-Aupais episode in the extant "chanson de geste", endeavouring to reveal that many of the characters in *Girart de Roussillon*: Fouques, Berte, Aupais, Thierri, etc., are identical with characters in many other French medieval epics; and are therefore common to much of French epic legend.

161. *Kallmann, Hermann.* Die Lautverhältnisse des Oxforder Girart. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde bei der hohen philosophischen Facultät der Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität zu Bonn, von H. Kallmann. Bonn, 1897, 8°, 36 pp.

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A study of the various vowel forms in the extant " chanson ", Oxford MS. [see No. 5] ; carried out with great assiduity; a better work than that of Hentschke [see No. 154].

162. *Kannegiesser, K. L.* Girartz de Rossilho, das älteste provenzalische Epos. [In] Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, herausgegeben von Ludwig Herrig. XIII. Jahrgang. 24 Band. Braunschweig, 1858.

PP. 369—384. An early detailed analysis of the story of the extant " chanson ", now superseded by P. Meyer's translation [see No. 188] and by Bédier's analysis [see No. 113].

163. *Köhler, Reinhold.* Die Beispiele aus Geschichte und Dichtung in dem altfranzösischen Roman von Girart von Rossillon, von R. Köhler. Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Sprache und Literatur, herausgegeben von Dr. Ludwig Lemcke. Neue Folge II. Band (der ganzen Reihe XIV. Band). Leipzig, Teubner, 1875.

PP. 1—31. Köhler quotes seventeen passages from the " Roman en Alexandrins ", with seventeen similar passages in the *Speculum majus* of Vincent de Beauvais, and holds that the author of *Girart* drew from this chronicler of ancient history. Köhler makes no attempt to estimate the value of this parallelism for the study of the sources of the " roman ".

164. *Le Grand d'Aussy, Pierre Jean Baptiste.* [Edition of] Fabliaux, ou contes du XII^e^ et du XIII^e^ siècles, traduits ou extraits d'après divers manuscrits du tems : avec des notes historiques et critiques, et les imitations qui ont été faites de ces contes depuis leur origine jusqu'à nos jours. (Contes dévots, fables et romans anciens : pour servir de suite aux Fabliaux. Fables par Marie de France). 4 tomes. Paris, 1779—1781, 8°.

T. I., p. 28. Reference to a manuscript of *Girart de Roussillon* : probably that at Oxford [see No. 5]. This is one of the earliest references in modern literature to *Girart de Roussillon.*

165. *Lelong, Jacques.* Bibliothèque historique de la France, contenant Le Catalogue des Ouvrages,

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imprimés & manuscrits, qui traitent de l'Histoire de ce Royaume, ou qui y ont rapport; avec des notes critiques et historiques: par feu Jacques Lelong. Nouvelle édition. Revue, corrigée & considérablement augmentée par M. Fevret de Fontelle. Tome I. Paris, 1768, fol.

P. 290, No. 4476. Mention of a MS. of the Burgundian translation of the Latin *Vita* [see No. 3].

P. 800, No. 12930. Mention of the will of Count Girard de Roussillon [see No. 61].

166. *Littré, Édouard.* [Review of] Le roman en vers de . . . Girart de Rossillon . . . par Mignard. Paris, 1858 [see No. 40]. Journal des Savants. Année 1860. [Two articles], pp. 218—229 and 277—289. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1860.

Littré first criticises the dating of the "roman" by Mignard, citing a part of the poem against it: then his mere mention of differences in language features. Littré discusses several of the changes in language in the C. XIV., illustrated by the "roman"; he praises the assiduity of the editor; but indicates some faults in textual renderings; Mignard's work is valuable as a fine document of medieval language and literature, given to the public.

Littré, Émile. Girart de Roussillon. Journal des Savants, April, 1860. [The article later included in his Histoire de la Langue française (see No. 167)].

167. *Littré, Émile.* Histoire de la Langue française. Etudes sur les origines, l' Etymologie, la grammaire, les dialectes, la versification et les lettres au moyen âge: 2 tom. Paris, 1863.

Tome II., pp. 384—422. A study of the legend of *Girart de Roussillon,* the historical Girart and the poems devoted to the legend; now superseded by Meyer's study [see No. 188].

168. *Longnon, A.* Girard de Roussillon dans l'histoire. Revue Historique, VIII., 2e fascicule, 1878.

PP. 241—279. A study, opposing Paul Meyer's article [see No. 182], where it was maintained that the Girart de Roussillon of the "chanson de geste" had no connection with the historical Girart. L. gathers historical evidence to adduce a close connection, not only in per-

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sonages, but in events, between history and legend in Girart de Roussillon. His view is, however, excessive. [For Review see No. 184].

169. *Lot, Ferdinand.* Conjectures sur *Girart de Roussillon.* I. Boson d' Escarpion. II. Odilon. III. Les Desertois. Romania XXXII. 1903.

PP. 572—576. Lot traces the identity of Boson and Odilon to notable historical personages in the ninth century; and finds in the part of the *Desertois* in the poem, identified by P. Meyer with the people of Berry [see No. 188, p. 40, note 1], an echo of the historical events of 867—868.

170. *Lot, F.* Sur la date du poème de *Girard de Roussillon.* Annales du Midi, Revue de la France méridionale, 31st year, numbers 121 and 122, January—April, 1919. PP. 74—76. Toulouse, E Privat, and Paris, A. Picard.

Lot quotes a passage in P. Meyer's translation of the " chanson de geste " of *Girart de Roussillon* [see No. 188] which he considers to be from Wace's *Brut;* and therefore shows that the " chanson de geste " is posterior to 1155.

171. *Luchaire, Achille.* [In] *Lavisse, Ernest.* Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution. Tome III. Première partie. Louis VII.—Philippe-Auguste—Louis VIII.; 1137—1226, par A. Luchaire, Paris, 1901. Chapter IV.

P. 372. Note on the incarnation of brutal feudal realism in *Girart de Roussillon.*

P. 379. Note on epics rapidly being influenced by new sentiments, illustrated by *Girart de Roussillon.*

172. *Ludlow, John Malcolm.* Popular Epics of the Middle Ages of the North-German and Carlovingian cycles. London, 16°, 1865, 2 voll.

Vol. II., pp. 171—173. Brief account of the epic of *Girart de Roussillon*: a general study of minor value.

173. *McCabe, Thomas.* The Geste of Auberi le Bourgoing. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. Vol. IV., 1888—1889, pp. 62—82. Baltimore, 1889.

P. 64. A comparison of *Auberi le Bourgoing* and *Girart de Roussillon* as Burgundian feudal epics: the author notes, however, the difference in language between the two.

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174. *Mahn, C. A. F.* Über die epische Poesie der Provenzalen, besonders über die beiden vorzüglichsten Epen Jaufre und Girart de Rossilho, so wie über die Ausgaben und Handschiften, worin sich dieselben befinden von Prof. Dr. Aug. Mahn.

Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, herausgegeben von Ludwig Herrig, XXVIII. Jahrgang, 51 Band, pp. 281—292, Brunswick, 1874.

A detailed comparison of *Girart de Roussillon* with the "chanson de geste" *Jaufre,* belonging to the Languedoc region. Mahn indicates, beyond the resemblance of these two epics, considerable evidence of the epic of *Girart de Roussillon* among Provençal literature, and urges from this the doubtful conclusion that *Girart de Roussillon* is of Provençal origin.

174a. *Mahn, C. A. F.* Über die epische Poesie der Provenzalen, besonders über die beiden vorzüglichsten Epen Jaufre und Girartz de Rossilho, so wie über die Ausgaben und Handschriften, worin sich dieselben befinden. [Introduction to] Girartz de Rosilho nach der Pariser Handschrift, herausgegeben von C. Hofmann [forming] Erster Band, Epische Abtheilung, [of] Die Werke der Troubadours in Provenzalischer Sprache, herausgegeben von C. A. F. Mahn, Zweite Lieferung. Berlin, 1874.

PP. 1—13, line 39, are identical with the article in Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen [see No. 174]. Mahn here adds further comments on the resemblances between *Jaufre* and *Girart de Roussillon,* with several passages from each, quoted as illustrations.

175. *Mahn, C. A. F.* Commentar zu Girartz de Rossilho. Berlin, 1886, 8°.

A series of textual emendations and criticisms on the first 50 verses of Förster's edition [see No. 35], and of the first 94 verses of Hofmann's edition [see No. 30]. Interposed between these two sets of notes is a remark on v. 565 of Hofmann's edition; a study of the unusual position of the cæsura in the XIIth century "chanson" of *Girart de Roussillon.*

176. *Manteyer, Georges de.* Les légendes Saintes de Provence et le Martyrologie d'Arles-Toulon (vers

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1120). [In] Ecole française de Rome. Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire. XVII^e année. Fascicule IV.—V.—Juillet—Décembre, 1897. Paris, Fontemoing, and Rome, 1897.

PP. 467—489. A study of the holy legends in Provence, which includes the legend of the transference of the body of Sainte Marie-Madeleine to Vézelay.

177. *Martène, Edmond; and Durand, Ursin.* Voyage litéraire de deux religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maure; Deux parties. Paris, 1717, 4°.

Quotation of Latin epitaphs of Girart de Roussillon and Berte, which however are certainly not the original inscriptions, not dating back far beyond the seventeenth century.

178. *Mary-Lafon (Jean Bernard Lafon).* Le Roman de Gérard de Roussillon, traduit par Mary-Lafon, Toulouse, 1858. [Extract from Revue de Toulouse, 1858].

A modern French prose version of the "Roman en alexandrins" [see No. 40].

179. *Meyer, Paul.* Études sur la Chanson de Gérard de Roussillon. I. [In] Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, Revue d'érudition consacrée spécialement à l'étude du moyen âge. 21^me année, t. II., 5^me série, 1861. PP. 31—68. Paris, 1861.

A study of the language and metre of the extant "chanson": distinguishing its language from the literary language of the Provençal troubadours. Meyer then examines the MSS. of the extant "chanson" from the point of view of language: determining that the Paris MS. was composed in Périgord or Limousin. [For Review see No. 224].

180. *Meyer, Paul.* La Chanson de Girart de Roussillon, traduite pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford. Revue de Gascogne, X., pp. 477—494, 1869; XI., pp. 149—169, 1870; XIV., pp. 293—308, 1873.

Articles containing translations of the "chanson", gathered together to form his work in 1884 [see No. 188].

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181. *Meyer, Paul.* Études sur Girart de Roussillon. I. Les Manuscrits. [In] Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur, XI., pp. 121—142, 1870.

Classification of the four MSS. of the extant "chanson" into two divisions: a description of the Passy MS. [see No. 7].

182. *Meyer, Paul.* La légende de Girart de Roussillon. Romania VII., 1878, pp. 161—177.

A discussion of the different forms of the legend; and a critical list of the manuscripts of the Latin *Vita,* and its Burgundian translation. Brief analysis of the *Vita;* discussion of its composition and sources. M. determines by the allusions from other epics the existence of a lost original poem on Girart de Roussillon. [For Review, see No. 107].

183. *M[eyer], P.* [Review of] Études sur Girart de Rossilho par K. Schweppe, 1878. Romania VIII., 1879, pp. 128—129.

A criticism of Schweppe's work [see No. 34]. Meyer urges the superficiality of Schweppe's arguments for the classification of the MSS. of the extant "chanson"; and draws up a considerable list of glaring errata in Schweppe's edition of part of the Oxford MS. [see No. 5].

184. *M[eyer], P.* [Review of] "Girard de Roussillon dans l'histoire, par A. Longnon" [see No. 168]. Romania, VIII., 1879, P. 138.

A defence of his previous article [see No. 182] against Longnon; he recognises, however, the useful light thrown by Longnon on certain historical points (v. Longnon, p. 251, note 2, p. 273).

185. *Meyer, Paul.* Les Manuscrits français des Gonzague, II. Romania, IX., pp. 499—500, 1880.

Description of how the sole complete MS. of the extant "chanson" of *Girart de Roussillon* [see No. 5], was secured by the Bodleian, Oxford, through its acquisition by the abbot Canonicus, on the sale of the Gonzaga Library at Venice, 1708.

186. *Meyer, Paul.* [Review of] Chronicques des faiz de feurent monseigneur Girart de Rossillon . . publiées pour la première fois . . . par L. de Montille. 1880. [See No. 41]. Romania, IX., 1880. PP. 314—319.

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A criticism of the many defects of Montille's edition of Wauquelin's history of Girart. Meyer principally complains that Montille has made no comparison of the value of the "Chronicques" and of its sources: therefore all the work on the poem is still left to be done.

187. *M[eyer], P.* Review of Förster, Apfelstedt, and Stürzinger's work in Romanische Studien, V. [see Nos. 35, 103 and 36], Romania, X., 1881, pp. 305—306.

A tribute to the assiduous thoroughness of the work; P. Meyer points out several criticisms of details.

188. *Meyer, Paul.* Girart de Roussillon, chanson de geste, traduite pour la première fois, par P. Meyer. Paris, Champion, 1884. 8°. CCXXXIV—351 pp.

A translation of the extant "chanson" into French prose. The introduction is the most valuable work on the subject. In his chapter on the historical Girart, Meyer takes the excessive view of minimising the connection between history and legend. He then analyses and discusses all the extant versions, in which he proves, by the differences between the extant "chanson" and the Latin Life, and by the allusions in other epics, the existence of an original poem, now lost. Meyer adds a brief account of the MSS. of the "chanson de geste"; and a synopsis of its philological features. He has interpolated (PP. LVII—LXXXIX.) a study of C. XII. civilisation as revealed by the "chanson". His work of reconstruction of the lost poem, and his dating of the Latin Life and the extant "chanson", are, however, doubtful [see No. 113]. [For Review see No. 216].

189. *M[eyer], P. Dia* dans Girart de Rossillon. Rectification au Dictionnaire Etymologique de Diez. Romania, XV., 1886, p. 113.

A philological note on the word *dia* and its misinterpretation by Michel [see No. 29] and by Diez, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen, t. II.

190. *Meyer, Paul.* Un nouveau manuscrit de la légende Latine de Girard de Roussillon. Romania, XVI., 1887. PP. 103—105.

Account of a MS. of Flemish origin, newly discovered, (Paris, Bibl., Mazarine, 1329) [see No. 2]. Meyer discusses its connection with the MS. Paris, Bibl. Nat., 13090 du fonds latin [see No. 1]; and its comparative unimportance in throwing light on the Latin Life.

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191. *M[eyer], P.* [Review of] Zum *Girart de Rossilho* von K. Bartsch [see No. 108]. Romania, XVI., 1887, p. 152.

Meyer does not hold that the fragment printed by Bartsch has great value for the interpretation of the French text; and, because of its closeness to the French text of the extant "chanson" [see No. 35], disproves its provenance from a C. XII. German poem, now lost.

192. *M[eyer], P.* [Review of] Über den provenzalischen *Girart de Roussillon* von A. Stimming [see No. 225]. Romania, XVII., 1888, pp. 637—638.

Meyer shows that Stimming's work is largely a development or exaggeration of his own ideas in [No. 188]. Meyer holds that Stimming's postulation of three "remanieurs" of the original poem, evidenced in the extant "chanson"; and his attempt to determine how much belongs to each of these, are conjectural, and based on a very disputable theory of the manner in which "chansons de gestes" were rewritten.

193. *Meyer, Paul.* [Review of] Fragments d'un manuscrit de Girart de Rossillon, par C. Chabaneau [see No. 37]. Romania, XVIII., pp. 518, 519, 1889.

Meyer holds that the fragment published by Chabaneau belongs to the London MS. [see No. 4]; forming most of tirades 435—440, and 476—480; thus filling part of the gap which formerly existed between tirade 362 and tirade 519.

194. *Meyer, Paul.* [Review of] La Langue et la Littérature du Limousin, par C. Chabaneau [see No. 121]. Romania, XXI., p. 618, 1892.

Meyer criticises Chabaneau's "schema" for the MSS. of the extant "chanson"; and his division of them into three groups. There are only two classes of MSS. of this poem. The London MS. is, by no means, as Chabaneau states, a "version purement française".

195. *Meyer, Paul.* [Notes in] Histoire poétique de Charlemagne par G. Paris. Edition de 1905 [see No. 214].

P. 519. Note on p. 83, line 8: that Arnaud de Girone figures in several epics, notably in *Girart de Roussillon.*

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P. 539. Note on pp. 297—299: Meyer refutes the Provençal origin of the epic held by G. Paris: he holds the extant "chanson" is a semi-Provençal "remaniement" of a Burgundian poem.

196. *Meyer, P.* Légendes hagiographiques en français, II. Légendes en prose. [In] Histoire Littéraire de la France, ouvrage commencé par des religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur, et continué par des membres de l'Institut. Tome XXXIII., 1906.

P. 437. Note on a manuscript of the Latin Life of Girart [see No. 3].

197. *Mignard, T. J. A. P.* Histoire et légende de Gérard de Roussillon et de la duchesse Berthe, concernant le pays de la Montagne et le Chatillonais. Dijon and Paris, 1853, 8°.

A study, concerned chiefly with the topography of the legend, and which, being based only on the later literature about Girart, the "roman en alexandrins" and the prose histories, is now valueless.

198. *Mignard, Thomas, J. A. P.* Quelques remarques sur un des héros les plus populaires de nos chansons de geste en langue d'oc et en langue d'oïl. Paris, 1864, 8°.

Unimportant notes on the legendary and the historical Girart.

199. *Mirot, Léon. Valbeton* dans *Girart de Roussillon.* Romania, XXI., 1892, pp. 257—260.

A study of the place-name Valbeton, which Paul Meyer had not identified [see No. 188, p. 67, note 1]. Mirot finds a Vaubeton near Saint-Père, beside the river Cure, where he finds a legend of former great battles long ago, preserved by oral transmission among folk who have received no literary influence.

200. *Monaci, E.* Un quisito sul *Girart de Rossilho* al professore Giulio Bertoni. Archivum Romanicum, nuova rivista di filologia romanza diretta da Giulio Bertoni: Leo S. Olschki, editore, I. [part] 4, 1917. pp. 500—501.

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Monaci urges that if the original epic was composed for the pilgrims of Vézelay [see No. 113], the extant " chanson de geste " was not: he supposes that it was written by a Burgundian " trouvère " in the S.W. region of France, for the court of Aquitaine, whose dukes had claims upon Burgundy.

201. *Monnoye, de la.* [Note in] Les Bibliothèques Françoises de La Croix du Maine et de Du Verdier, Sieur de Vauprivas. Nouvelle édition, dediée au roi. Tome IV., Paris, 1773.

P. 168. A note on the " roman en alexandrins ". " Il est en rime, & dédié à Jeanne de Bourgogne, femme du roi Philippe le Long. Il y en a un Manuscrit dans la Bibliothèque de M. le Président Bouhier (aujourd'hui de M. le Président de Bourbonne) ". [See No. 13].

202. *Morel-Fatio, Alfred.* Katalanische Litteratur [forming part 3 of] *Gröber, Gustav.* Grundriss der romanischen Philologie. II. Band. 2 Abteilung. III. Abschnitt. Litteraturen-geschichte der romanischen Völker. B. Die Litteraturen der romanischen Völker. PP. 70—128. Strassburg, Trübner, 1897.

P. 84. Note on versification of *Girart de Roussillon* as influencing Catalan versification.

203. *Müller, Konrad.* Die Assonanzen im *Girart von Rossillon.* Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde bei der philosophischen Facultät der Rheinischen Friedrichs-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, von Konrad Müller. Altenburg, 1882, 8°, 33 pp.

An elaborate study of the assonances in the extant " chanson " [see No. 35] as represented by the extant MSS. [see Nos. 4—7], endeavouring to ascertain how much is Provençal, how much French in the extant " chanson ".

204. *Nitze, William, A; and Dargan, E. P.* A History of French Literature from the Earliest Times to the Great War. London, 1921.

PP. 27, 28. A description, often faulty, of the story of *Girart de Roussillon.* Note on the pictures it affords of medieval feudalism.

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205. *Nyrop, Kristoffer.* Den Oldfranske Heltedigtning. (Histoire de l'Epopée française au moyen âge, accompagnée d'une Bibliographique détaillée). Kopenhavn, Reitzels, 1883, 8°, XII.—491 pp.

PP. 157—158. A note on the four MSS. of the "chanson de geste". N holds that it does not belong to Provençal Literature.

P. 189. Mention of Girart de Roussillon's part in *Hervis de Mes.*

PP. 196, 197. Brief summary account of the legend and its extant versions: now of minor importance.

PP. 447—449. A considerable bibliography of *Girart de Roussillon* up to 1883.

206. *Pakscher, A.* [Review of] Über den provenzalischen Girart von Rossillon, von A. Stimming [see No. 225]. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XIII. Band, pp. 556—567, 1889.

A detailed review of Stimming's work. The author gives an elaborate account of its contents, criticising the argument for three "remanieurs" of the epic between the lost original poem and the "chanson de geste" as extremely improbable, and without any facts as basis.

207. *Paris, Alexis Paulin.* Bulletin du Bibliophile; avec notes de MMM. J. C. Brunet, Chalon, Delmotte, etc.: et notices bibliographiques par C. Nodier. Paris, Techener, 1834, 8°. Treizième série, 1857, pp. 472 seqq. Inventaire de la Bibliothèque de Jean de Saffres, doyen du chapitre de Langres [redigé en], 1365.

11. Item, romancium Girardi de Rossillon, in francisco, taxatum precio quindecim grossorum.

20. Item, romancium Girardi de Rossillon, in provinciali lingua, taxatum precio unius grossi.

Note of two manuscripts of *Girart de Roussillon,* not identified with any of the manuscripts extant.

208. *Paris, A. Paulin.* Les Manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi. Tome VI., 1845; tome VII., 1848.

Tome VI., pp. 101—112. Description of the Paris, London and Oxford MSS. of the extant "chanson de geste" [see Nos. 4—6].

Tome VII., pp. 10—15. Description of the Paris MSS. of Jean Wauquelin's history [see Nos. 15, 16].

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209. *Paris, A. Paulin.* Trouvères. Chansons de Geste, Aspremont. [in] Histoire Littéraire de la France, ouvrage commencé par des religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur, et continué par des Membres de l'Institut (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). Tome XXII. Suite du Treizième Siècle. Paris, 1852.

PP. 305, 306. Description of the characters of Girart and Berte in *Girart de Roussillon,* and appearing under other names in other epics.

210. *P[aris], G.* Romania VIII., p. 633, 1879.

Note on L. V. Delisle's identification of a chronicle alluding to Girart [see No. 134]—held to be lost by Fauchet (Romania VIII., p. 369, 1879)—with a MS. (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, 5003 du fonds français). [See No. 80].

211. *Paris, Gaston.* Les manuscrits français des Gonzague, III. Romania, IX., 1880.

P. 501. Note on the Paris MS. of the extant "chanson de geste" [see No. 5].

212. *Paris, Gaston.* La Littérature française au moyen âge (XI^{e}—XIV^{e} siècle). Manuel d'ancien français. 2^{me} éd. Paris, 1890.

P. 36. Note on *Girart de Roussillon* as illustrating the necessarily provincial character of feudal epics.

P. 45. Note on *Girart de Roussillon* as written in a dialect betwixt the North and the "Midi".

PP. 50, 51. Note on the rythm of *Girart de Roussillon.*

P. 71. Connection of Girart de Roussillon with other epic Girarts.

213. *P[aris], G.* [Review of] Sur la vie de Sainte Marie-Madeleine [by] Collijn, I. [see No. 121]. Romania XXI., p. 448, 1902.

G. Paris shows that the writer does not arrive at any clear conclusion as to the relationship between the two legends; but announces a later work on the subject.

214. *Paris, Gaston.* Histoire poétique de Charlemagne. Reproduction de l'édition de 1865; augmentée de notes nouvelles par l'auteur et par M. Paul Meyer, et d'une table alphabétique des matières. Paris, Bouillon, 1905. In 8°, XVII—554 pp.

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P. 73. Note on *Girart de Roussillon* in the category of epics on the struggles of Charlemagne and his vassals.

P. 82. Holds that Provence had an epic literature because of the beauty and originality of *Girart de Roussillon*, the extant "chanson de geste". [See Gautier, L.: No. 147, pp. 110, 111.].

P. 86. Note on extant "chanson de geste" of *Girart de Roussillon* as almost sole indication of characteristics of Provençal epic literature. [See Gautier, L. No. 147, pp. 110, 111].

P. 219. *Girart de Roussillon's* connection with the name of Charles Martel.

PP. 297—299. Brief account of the position of the poem in the Charlemagne cycle; indication of its Provençal origin; references to it in other epics.

215. *Rajna, Pio.* Gli origini dell'epopea francese, indagate da Pio Rajna. Florence, Sansoni, 1884, in 8°, XVI.—550 pp.

PP. 234—238. In his chapter on the cycle of Charlemagne and of Charles Martel, he studies the substitution of Charles Martel for Charles le Chauve in the extant "chanson de geste" of *Girart de Roussillon.* His conclusion is that there was a whole epic cycle of Charles Martel, from which the cycle of Charlemagne drew many fragments.

216. *Raynaud, Gaston.* [Review of] *Girart de Roussillon,* chanson de geste, traduite pour la première fois, par P. Meyer [see No. 188]. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes. PP. 361, 362. Paris, 1884.

An appreciation of the value of the work as a study of the origins of the legend; especially as proving the existence of a lost original epic; and of a Burgundian, not Provençal, origin of the legend.

Raynouard, F. J. M., Lexique Roman, ou Dictionnaire de la Langue des Troubadours . . . [See under No. 26.].

217. *Rhode, August.* Die Beziehungen zwischen den chansons de *Hervis de Mes* und *Garin le Loherain,* Beiträge zur Kritik der französischen Karlsepen. [In] Ausgaben aus dem Gebiete der Roman Philologie veröffentlicht von E. Stengel. Heft III. Marburg, 1881.

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PP. 149—154. A detailed analysis of the episodes in *Hervis de Metz* in which Girart de Roussillon figures in an important position [see No. 87].

218. Romania. [Review of] La Chanson de Girart de Roussillon, traduite pour la première fois d'après le ms d'Oxford par P. Meyer [see No. 180]. Romania, II., pp. 378, 379, 1873.
Brief account of the scope and nature of Meyer's work.

219. Romania. [Review of] Die Verbalflexion in der Oxforder Handschrift des Girart de Rossillon von G. Hentschke [see No. 154]. Romania, XII., p. 636, 1883.
Hentschke's work is criticised as being of comparatively little value: he does not determine which of the flexions tabulated belong to the author, which to the writer of the manuscript.

220. Romania. [Review of] "Berte aus grans piés" von Adenet und der Berliner Prosaroman, von Ph.-A. Becker. Romania, XXI., p. 458, 1893.
A conjecture that this German Prose "remaniement", held by Becker to be an addendum to an unknown history of *Girart de Roussillon,* is derived from the History of Charles Martel [see Nos. 18 and 19].

221. *Saintsbury, George.* A Short History of French Literature (from the earliest texts to the close of the nineteenth century). 7th ed. Oxford, 1917.
PP. 16, 17. Remark on literary quality of *Girart de Roussillon.*

222. *Schultz-Gora, O.* Noch einmal *escarimant.* Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie herausgegeben von Dr. Gustav Gröber, XXVI. Band. 5 Heft, 1902 Halle, Niemeyer.
P. 590. A brief note on the word *escarimant,* mentioning its form in *Girart de Roussillon,* v. 2542 (ed. Förster [see No. 35].).

223. *Schürr, F.* Das altfranzösisches Epos, zur Stilgeschichte und inneren Form der Gotik. Munich, 1926.
PP. 199—201. General account of the legend of *Girart de Roussillon,* tracing its origin from the foundation by Girart of the Abbey of Vézelay.

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Schweppe, Karl. Études sur *Girart de Rossilho,* 1878. [See No. 34.].

224. *Stengel, Edmund.* [Review of] Études sur la chanson de Gérard de Roussillon par P. Meyer [see No. 179]. Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur, herausgegeben von Dr. Ludwig Lemcke. 12 Band, Leipzig, 1871.

PP. 119, 120. A useful note on P. Meyer's discussion of the MSS. of *Girart de Roussillon,* the extant "chanson". Stengel shows that two leaves (fols. 87 and 88, see No. 5) are interpolated in the Oxford MS.

225. *Stimming, Albert.* Über den provenzalischen *Girart de Roussillon.* Ein Beitrag zur Entwickelungsgeschichte der Volksepen. Halle, Niemeyer. 1888. In 8°, 399 pp.

An assiduous study of the legend. In his part on the historical foundation (pp. 42—46), S. reveals more resemblances between legend and history than Meyer had admitted [see No. 192]. S. holds that the original poem was a national epic reflecting the opposition of the Midi, as a nation, to the Kingdom of France. He then proceeds to a study of every verse, attributing each either to the original poem or to one of three "remaniements". His method is arbitrary; based on the attribution to "remaniements" of all passages betraying a clerical hand; and he draws no valuable conclusions from his analysis. [For Reviews, see Nos. 192 and 206].

226. *Stimming, Albert.* Provenzalische Litteratur von A. Stimming [forming part 2 of] Gröber, Gustav. Grundriss der romanischen Philologie; herausgegeben, von G. Gröber, II., Band, 2 Abteilung. III. Abschnitt, Litteraturgeschichte der romanischen Völker. B. Die Litteraturen der romanischen Völker, pp. 1—69. Strassburg, Trübner, 1897.

PP. 3—5. Brief account of the legend, determining the existence of an original poem, now lost.

227. *Suchier, Hermann, and Birch-Hirschfeld, Adolf.* Geschichte der französischen Literatur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart, von Prof. Dr. H. Suchier und Prof. Dr. A. Birch-Hirschfeld. Zweite,

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neubearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Erster Band. Leipzig und Wien. Bibliographisches Institut, 1913, 4°. XI—333 pp.

P. 19. Note on the versification of the extant "chanson".

PP. 46—48. General account of the legend, and the versions of it.

P. 252. Note on the C. XIV., "Roman d'Alexandrins" as rewritten from the extant "chanson" and the Latin Life. [See Nos. 182 and 188.].

P. 259. Note on Wauquelin's Prose version. [See No. 41].

228. *Terrebasse, Alfred de.* Gérard de Roussillon. Fragment extrait de l'histoire des deux derniers Royaumes de Bourgogne. Lyon, 1853.

A brief study of certain fragments recently brought to light: of little value.

229. *Thomas, Antoine.* La légende de Marie-Madeleine dans *Girart de Roussillon.* Annales du Midi, Revue de la France méridionale. 6th year, number 23. July, 1894. PP. 360—363. Toulouse, E. Privat, and Paris, A. Picard.

Discussion of connection of legend of Marie-Madeleine with legend of *Girart de Roussillon,* especially in two parts of the "chanson de geste", § 612 and § 666—7 of P. Meyer's translation [see No. 188]. He shows *Girart de Roussillon* has no connection in these sections with the legend of Badilon; and that it is the second account of the legend of Marie-Madeleine in chronological order.

230. *Thomas, Antoine.* "Gahel" ou les avatars d'un lépreux dans *Girart de Roussillon.* Annales du Midi, Revue de la France méridionale. 11th year. Number 42. April, 1899. PP. 197—200. Toulouse, E. Privat, and Paris, A. Picard.

Thomas attacks P. Meyer's translation of "gahel" by "valet" in his work [see No. 188, p. 242, § 527]. He prefers the reading of the Paris MS. [see No. 6] "digiet", meaning "leper"; and discusses all the Provençal and French forms of the word "gahel".

231. *Thomas, Antoine. Meuslic* dans *Girart de Roussillon.* Romania, XXXVIII., 1909, pp. 431, 432.

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A note on v. 1712 (ed. Förster [see No. 35]) of the extant "chanson". The word *meuslic* was unexplained by P. Meyer [see No. 188, p. 54, note 3]. Thomas proposes to alter it to Meulsic, and identify it with the country of Meaux or Mulcien.

232. *Vaudin, Eugène.* Gérard de Roussillon, histoire et légende : sujet proposé au concours du prix Crochot par la Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne en 1883. Auxerre, Rouillé; and Paris, Champion. 1884, VII.—64 pp.

V studies first the historical background of Girart (pp. 1—26) : then the poems (the "chanson de geste" and the "roman en alexandrins") and the later prose works (pp. 26—47). He concludes that there must have been an original poem on Girart, now lost; and emphasises the difference between history and legend in him. Appendix, pp. 52—64, describes the monasteries and churches founded by Girart; quoting from the various charters.

233. *Viguier, Nicolas.* [Edition of] Bibliothèque historiale. Paris, 1587, folio. T. II., p. 477.

An account of a popular legend about Girart's death :—

"Autour de Val et Daliron
De Vendemaur et Montbaston
Perist Girard de Roussillon".

234. *Voretzsch, Carl.* Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Literatur im Anschluss an die Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Sprache, von Dr. C. Voretzsch [forming part II. of] Sammlung Kurzer Lehrbücher der romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen, herausgegeben von C. Voretzsch. Halle, Niemeyer 1925, 8°, XIX—552 pp.

P. 30. Note on versification of *Girart de Roussillon.*

P. 71. Note on Charles Martel in feudal epics.

P. 168. Note on the cæsura in *Girart de Roussillon.*

PP. 197—199. A brief study of the legend: its many connections with history: its character as an epic of the great vassals. The extant "chanson" has added much to the original poem. P. 197 contains a useful bibliography.

235. *Ward, H. L. D.* Catalogue of romances in the department of manuscripts in the British Museum. Two vol., 8°. London, 1883—1893. Vol. I., pp. 663—670. 1883.

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A. brief resumé of the problems of the *Girard de Roussillon* legend; the provenance of the extant poems from an original lost epic; and the relation between the historical and the legendary Girart. Followed by a description of the London MS. Brit. Mus. Harley, 4334 [see No. 4].

236. Wurzbach, Wolfram von. Geschichte des französischen Romans. I. Band. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des XVII. Jahrhunderts. Heidelberg, 1913.

P. 20. *Girart de Roussillon* mentioned among the Burgundian "chansons de geste" and also in Provençal.

PP. 36, 37. Prose histories, including Wauquelin's *Girart* [see No. 41].

PP. 80, 82. Brief account of the legend and its story, especially of Wauquelin's history [see No. 41].

237. *Zingarelli, Nicola.* Stratagemmi leggendarii di città assediate. Palerme, 1903.

Study of an episode in the Latin Life of Girart de Roussillon [see No. 182, p. 196], where the inhabitants of Laçois send out a bull stuffed with corn to deceive their besiegers as to their supplies. [See also No. 188, Introduction, pp. XXXI.—XXXII].

238. *Zingarelli, Nicola.* Le donne nel "Girart de Roussillon" [forming part of] Dai tempi antichi ai tempi moderni—da Dante al Leopardi—Raccolta di Scritti critici, di Ricerche storiche, filologiche e letterarie—con facsimili e tavole, per le Nozze di Michele Cherillo con Teresa Negri. Milan, Hoepli, 1904. Large 8°, XIV.—782 pp.

PP. 53—62. A beautiful appreciation of the fine women characters in *Girart de Roussillon.* Zingarelli contrasts Berte, Elissent and Aupais: identifies the love of Elissent and Girart with the love revealed in the C. XII. work of the troubadours; and therefore determines, on purely literary grounds, that all these scenes of love not characteristic of French epics, were not in the original poem.

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ADDENDA.

Page 123, line 20.

Berne, Library of Berne, 31-32. Vols. III. and IV. of J. Mansel. *La Fleur des Histoires.*

CXV. parchment; first leaf vellum, ornamented; 657 and 507 fols. respectively.

Begins fol. 1, *de lincarnation de nostre doulz sauveur Jhesu Crist.*

The History of *Girart de Roussillon* occupies Vol. IV., fols. 176-212. [see Hagen, H. Catalogus Cod: Bernensium, 1875.]

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„	10,	„	42,	„	baisant	„	baisant,
„	10,	„	43,	„	—533	„	—532
„	11,	„	1,	„	Iseut	„	Ysiaut
„	11,	„	3,	„	s'anrage	„	s'anrage.
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„	13,	„	27,	„	greliz	„	gresliz
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„	15,	„	12,	„	mout les sarmone	„	mot les sarmone,
„	15,	„	13,	„	done	„	done.
„	15,	„	16,	„	mout	„	mot
„	15,	„	20,	„	respont,	„	respont :
„	15,	„	21,	„	Di va	„	Diva
„	15,	„	21,	„	mont	„	mont,
„	15,	„	22,	„	vos	„	vus
„	15,	„	29,	„	mout	„	mot
„	18,	„	43,	„	per	„	par
„	19,	„	3,	„	daughter	„	grand-daughter
„	21,	„	43,	„	Midi	„	Midi,
„	25,	„	4,	„	daughter	„	grand-daughter
„	44,	„	43,	„	—50.	„	—49.
„	52,	„	48,	„	Lyon,	„	Lyons,
„	54,	„	32,	„	44-46.	„	43-45.
„	59,	„	39,	„	von	„	von R. Zenker, Romanische Forschungen, XXIX, pp. 322-369, 1911.
„	67,	„	11,	„	to the poem,	„	to the legend,
„	73,	„	14,	„	beten	„	been
„	76,	„	39,	„	Bledri-Bleheri	„	Bledri-Bleheri-Breri
„	81,	„	1,	„	Girart	„	*Girart*
„	86,	„	48,	„	"Tristan"	„	the "Tristan"
„	87,	„	32,	„	faudalen	„	feudalen
„	89,	„	2,	„	*Grainne"*	„	*Grainne*
„	91	„	10,	„	decirent,	„	decirent.
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„	110,	„	3,	„	Lasse	„	Lasse !
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„	111,	„	42,	„	Tristan.	„	Tristan,
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